REFLECTIONS
On
Mr. VARILLAS's
HISTORY
Of the Revolutions that have happned in Europe in matters of Religion.
And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.

By G. BURNET, D.D.

Amsterdam, Printed for P. *Savouret* in the *Warmoes-street* near the *Dam*, 1686.

REFLECTIONS

On

Mr. VARILLAS's HISTORY

of the Revolutions that have happened in Europe *in matters of Religion, and more particularly on his 9th Book that relates to* England.

MR. *Varillas* has within a few Years given the World ſo many Books of Hiſtory, and theſe have been ſo much read and ſo well received, that it ſeems he thinks he is now ſo far poſſeſſed of the eſteem of the Age, that he may venture to impoſe upon it the falſeſt coyn that can be ſtruck, not doubting but that the

name *Varillas* ſtampt upon it will make it paſs current, and this being a time in which ſome have thought that they might do whatſoever they pleaſed againſt thoſe of the Religion, he it ſeems thinks he may likewiſe ſay whatſoever he pleaſed againſt them, that ſo there may be a due proportion between the injuries that he does them with his pen, and thoſe that others make them feel with ſeverer tools, and perhaps he thought the ſeverities that are now exerciſed upon them, are ſo contrary to that tenderneſs with which the humane Nature, not to ſay the Chriſtian Religion, is apt to inſpire all that are not tranſported with ſuch violent Paſſions that they drown the Motions

tions of our bowels towards the miſerable, that nothing could divert the World from thoſe merciful inclinations but the dreſſing up the firſt beginnings of the Reformation in ſuch odious repreſentations as might poſſeſs the Age with ſo much fury againſt them, that none of the miſeries that they ſuffer, might create the leaſt Compaſſion for them.

It is true, Princes have their Prerogatives with which they take great liberties as their ſeveral paſſions are excited and dextrouſly managed, the deſire of glory mixing with a heat of blood, at one time can produce a war, as terrible in its conſequences, as it was injuſtifiable in its firſt beginnings, and the

ſame ambition mixing with a ſuperſtitious diſpoſition of mind, and working upon colder Blood, can at another time produce a violation of Edicts that have been ſolemnly ſworn to, and often confirmed, and accompany that with a ſequel of Severities, that are more eaſily lamented than expreſſed; yet an humble regard to the ſublime character of a Crown'd Head lays a reſtraint on thoſe Groans, which we would rather ſtifle than give them their full ſcope, leaſt the language of our Sorrows look like an accuſing of thoſe, whom, after all that our brethren have ſuffered at their hands, we would ſtill force our ſelves to reverence, and therefore we chuſe rather to ſupport our grief, than to vent it at their

their coſt. But ſmall Scriblers, who have ſet a price upon their pens, and ſacrifice our reputation, that they may merit a penſion at the hands of the chief Inſtruments of our Brethrens ſufferings, are not to look for ſuch reſpect: he that fights againſt the Laws of War ought to expect no quarter when he is taken.

A Hiſtorian that favours his own ſide, is to be forgiven, thô he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he ſets out the beſt ſides of his party, and the worſt of thoſe from whom he differs: and if he but ſlightly touches the failings of his Friends, and ſeverely aggravates thoſe of the other ſide, thô in this he departs from the laws of an exact Hiſtorian, yet this biaſs

is so natural, that if it lessens the credit of the Writer, yet it does not blacken him, but if he has no regard either to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange, if others take some pains to expose him to the World. And thô their Conscience and Religion obliges them to take other measures with relation to Truth, and their Breeding engages them to a strict modesty of Stile, yet if the things that are said are as severe as they are true, and as wounding as they may appear soft, it is nothing but what a Zeal for Truth, and an Indignation at so much ill-managed injustice draws from them.

It

It is not to be denied that Mr. *Varillas* has an art of writing that is entertaining, he pretends to diſcover many Secrets to give pictures of Men to the life, and to interweave the Hiſtories that he relates with a thread of Politiques that is very agreable, only this appears to be overdone, and thoſe who have had much practice in humane Affairs ſee that the conduct of the World is not ſo ſteady and ſo regular a thing as he loves to repreſent it, unlookt for Accidents, the caprices of ſome Tempers, the ſecrets of Amours and Jealouſies, with other particular paſſions are the true ſources of almoſt all that is tranſacted in the World; even Intereſt it ſelf does not always govern Mankind, but Humour and Paſ-

ſion have their turns, and oft-times the largeſt ſhare in humane affairs. So that I ever thought that his books had too much of the air of a Romance, and ſeemed too fine to be true. He does indeed now and then, to maintain his Reputation in his Reader's mind, vouch ſome letter or narrative, but he neither tells whether it is in Print, or in Manuſcript, or where he had it, and where others may find it: ſo this way of Citation looked ſuſpitious, yet I could not eaſily take up ſuch hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that all this was his own Invention, but being in *Paris* laſt Summer, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with ſome men of great probity, and that had particularly applied themſelves to examine the Hiſtory of France with

with great exactneſs; they were of the Church of Rome, and ſeemed to have no other diſlike at Mr. *Varillas*, but that which was occaſioned by the liberty, that he had given himſelf, to write his own Imaginations for true Hiſtories, they aſſured me there was no regard to be had to any thing that he writ, that he had gathered together many little ſtories which he knit together as he pleaſed, and that without any good Authority: and they told me that the greateſt number of the pieces he cited were to be found no where but in his own fancy. In a word, they ſpoke of all his books with a ſharpneſs of ſtile, and a degree of contempt, that I will not repeat leaſt I ſeem to come too near his forms of ſpeech, which are the

worſt Patterns that one can follow.

I found he was generally ſo much decried in *Paris*, that he has reaſon to ſay in his Preface, *that when the Archbiſhop of* Paris *thought on him, all the World had abandoned him*, for I did not find any Man under a more univerſal Comtempt than he was, and the eſteem in which his Works were held in Forreign Parts far beyond what was paied them in *France*, was imputed to his Method of Writing, that wants none of the beauties of Hiſtory except that of Truth, and to the Ignorance in which Strangers live as to the Particulars of their Hiſtory. It is true, at laſt he has found a Patron and a Penſion, and now he has given us an Eſſay of his Merits: but

but if this Work is examined severely, he will very probably soon lose his appointments, since mercenary Pens are seldom payed longer than they can be useful. Here one finds so much occasion for censure, that whereas in other Books one must run up and down to find matter for a Critical Judgment, here it occurs so copiously that a Man must take care not to surfeit his Reader with too much of it; and therefore must choose out the more remarkable Errours, and there are even so many of these, that it is to be feared that the World will not think him nor his Writings worth the time and the pains that must be bestowed on them.

Mr. *Maimbourg* has set a Pattern to the World, that thô few

wil care to imitate, yet it has taken ſo much with the preſent Age, that it is no light indication of its degeneracy, when ſuch books are ſo much read and ſold, in which the Writer ſeems to have ſo broken looſe from all the common meaſures either of honeſty or ſhame, that one would wonder of what compoſition he were made, if they did not know that he has lived 50. years in the Jeſuite Order: for as he has no regard to truth, or likelyhood in what he writes, ſo he ſeems to be proof againſt the evidenteſt diſcoveries of his prevarications that are poſſible; and when they are laid open in a manner capable of making any man beſides himſelf to bluſh, he neither has the conſcience to confeſs his

his errours, nor the ſenſe of honour to juſtify himſelf: but he finds out ſtill new matter to write on, and a new ſtock of *Champaigne* wine, as I have been told, that he has oft ſaid, to make his blood boil till he has ſpoild another piece of Hiſtory; and he thinks a ſcornfull period or two in a Preface is enough to carry off all the ſhame to which his errours ought to condemn him. He has alſo the Impudence to dedicate his books to the King, and the world is ſtill willing to be coſened by him. This trade has ſucceeded ſo well with him, that it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* vies with him in it, and as he has the chaſter ſtile, and the more natural way of miſleading his Reader, ſo he has reſolved not to be behind him in a bold quality

that I love not to set down by its proper Name. But thô Mr. *Varillas* has the art to refine upon the pattern that Mr. *Maimbourg* set him, yet Mr. *Maimbourg* is the Author of the Invention, and therefore he deserves the better Pension.

History is a sort of Trade in which false Coyn and false Weights are more criminal than in other Matters; because the Errour may go further and run longer: thô these Authors colour their copper too slightly to make it keep its credit long. If Men think there are degrees of Lying, then certainly those that are the most loudly told, that wound the deepest, that are told with the best grace, and that are transmitted to Posterity under the deceitful

ceitful colours of Truth, have the blackeſt Guilt; but ſome Men have arrived at equal degrees in hardning their Conſciences and in ſteeling their Forheads, and are without the reach either of inward Remorſes or publick Diſcoveries; ſo that as *Auguſtus* fancied there was a charm in the Pillow of a Roman, that died hugely indebted, ſince without an extraordinary ſoporiferous compoſition he could not fancy how ſuch a Man could ſleep ſecurely; ſo if humane Nature did not often produce ſome very irregular Individuals, a Man that feels the Authority that Truth and Modeſty have over a pure mind, can not eaſily imagine by what ſecret others can quite extinguiſh thoſe Inclinations which he

he finds are ſo prevalent in himſelf. But I will now by Mr. *Varillas's* leave take the liberty to ſet before him ſome of his moſt conſpicuous errours, and thô I do not expect much ſincerity from himſelf, yet I hope the world will be juſter than he has ſhewed himſelf to be.

Mr. *Varillas* begins his Hiſtory with a view of the progreſs of that which he calls Hereſy, in a Prophetick ſtile, ſetting forth what effects it was to produce, as if he were foretelling what was to fall out, and that for 11. pages (according to the Impreſſion of *Amſterdam*) this has ſo little of the air of a Hiſtorian, and is ſo full of the figures of a Declaimer, that it looks liker the ſtrain of a heated and angry Fryer, than of a grave and

and serious Writer of History, who ought to be always in cold blood, and ought not to let the heats of a vitious Rhetorick transport him. But this is so like one of the forced raptures of some Missionary, that one would think it was writ either by one of them, or for one of them. It is much a safer thing to propheey concerning matters that are past, than concerning those that are to come, and one is less in danger of committing errours; yet when heat enters into matters of History, and meets with so vast a deal of Ignorance as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, no wonder if it carries him into great errours.

If Mr. *Varillas* had gathered the History of the last Age out of any

pag. 5. Books or out of those Letters that he so often vouches, he could not have said that *Edward the 6th's* Tutor or Governour was the Duke of *Northumberland*, since there is not any one Book writ concerning that Time, that does not shew the contrary. The Duke of *Somerset* was his Governour, and for the Duke of *Northumberland*, thô the last two Years of that Reign, in which that King was past the Age of Tutelage, he bore the chief sway of affairs, yet he had neither the Character of the King's Tutor or Governour, nor any other whatsoever, but only that of a Privy Councellour, that was much considered by him, and he at his Death professed that he had been always a Catholick in his Heart,

so

ſo that his pretending to be of the Reformed Religion to ſerve his intereſts, ſhews that he belongs no more to our Church, than the now forced Converts belong to that of *Rome*.

In the ſame page he ſays that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* did by her Baſtard Brother's perſuaſions marry a ſingle Gentleman, and on the Margent he gives his Name *Henry d'Arley*; this is a new proof how little he knows the Books of the laſt Age. This *Henry* whom he calls *d'Arley* was *Henry* Lord *Darly*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, which was one of the chief Families of *Scotland*, and a Branch of the Family of the *Stewarts*. It is true, it came off from it before the Crown came into it by Mariage,

yet the Grandfather of this *Henry* had matched with one that was very near the Crown, and Cosen German to K. *James* the 4th, and Sister to *Hamilton* Earl of *Aran*, this *Lord Darly's* Mother was also Uterine Sister to K. *James* the 5. being the Daughter to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* that was K. *Henry* the 8th's Sister, who by her second mariage with the Earl of *Angus* (*Dowglas*) had Lady *Isabel Dowglas*, who was bred in the Court of *England*, and whom K. *Henry* the 8. married to the Earl of *Lennox*, that had by her this Lord *Darly*, who as he was the Queen of *Scotland's* Cosin German, was also the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after her, and might have been a dangerous Competitour to her in that Succession, having

ving been born and bred in *England*, ſo that this mariage was ſo far from making her contemptible to her Subjects, that it was conſidered as the wiſeſt act of her life: and Mr. *Var.* could not Imagine any thing more honourable to the Earl of *Morny's* memory, than to make him the adviſer of ſo wiſe a choice. It is no wonder to ſee Mr. *Var.* make ſo bold with meaner perſons, when he takes ſo much liberty with the Royal Family of *England*, as to ſtain their deſcent, for which if the conſideration of the Crowns they wear, did not reſtrain him, yet the particular regard to the King that now reigns, ought to have taught him ſo much reſpect as not to have ventured to blot his Scutcheon ſo far as to call his Great

Grand-

Grandfather a ſingle Gentleman, and if he had paid the reſpect he owed to the Memory of that unfortunate Princeſs, he had not enlarged ſo much on her Story, but I know what is due to the Memory of a crowned Head, even when it is laid in aſhes, and thô he makes an eaſie weakneſs to be her prevailing Character, upon which he would diſcharge all her Misfortunes, this Picture is ſo different from the Truth that ſhe was certainly one of the wittieſt and higheſt ſpirited Women that ever lived.

But it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* has pretended to ſome Penſion from the Crown of *England*, and in revenge for the diſappointment he has reſolved to debaſe the Race all he can. Here he affords our Kings

Kings the honour to be deſcended at leaſt from a Gentleman, thô one of the ordinarieſt ſort; but upon another occaſion he is not ſo liberal, for in his Hiſtory he ſays that *Henry* the 8th had reaſons to deſire the mariage of his Baſtard Son the Duke of *Richmond* with his Daughter *Mary*, that were too well known, for libels had been ſpread over all *Europe*, reproaching him that his Great Grandfather was not a Gentleman, but that by his credit at Court, and by the vaſt riches that he had acquired, he had obtained leave to marry a Daughter of the Family of the *Plantagenets*, that was then 16. degrees diſtant from the Crown, and yet by that means his Grand-child came to reign; upon which he makes a

Lib. 9. Pag. 249.

long

long ſpeculation concerning the King's Reflections on that matter, and the reaſons that reſtrained him from writing on that ſubject, as if it were an ordinary thing for Princes to become their own Heralds. He alſo tells us how he comforted himſelf by the remembrance of the meanneſs of *Arbaces* K. of *Perſia*, that was the Son of a Lockſmith, whoſe Poſterity had reigned ſo long, and with ſo much glory, and therefore he ſays he deſigned to marry his Natural Son and his Daughter together. Here is ſuch a mixture of Impertinencies, that it is not eaſy to know at what one is to begin, and if there were but this one period, it is enough to let the World ſee, how incapable Mr. *Varillas* is of writing Hiſtory.

I ſhall

I ſhall not in this place ſhew the falſehood of that imputation on *Henry* the 8th, that he deſigned this inceſtuous Match, for that will come in more properly upon another occaſion; only if his Birth was defective on his Great Grandfathers ſide, it was an odd method for the correcting of it, to think of adding a new blot, and of bringing a Baſtard into the 5th Succeſſion; ſo the reaſon is as fooliſh as the matter of fact is falſe, and the Ignorance that Mr. *Var.* ſhews here is the more remarkable, becauſe this matter belongs to the moſt extraordinary tranſaction that is in the whole French Hiſtory, in which he pretends to be ſo converſant. I need not ſay any more to prove the *Tudors* to be Gentlemen, but to tell that they

are

are Welshmen, of the Race of the Ancient Britans, who do all pretend to the highest Birth of any in the English Nation, and do run up their Pedigrees to *Julius Cesar's* time; among whom is the Race of the Ap *Theodore's*, or the Sons of *Theodore*, that by a corruption of some Ages were called *Tudors*: but knows Mr. *Varillas* so little of the *French* History, as to have forgot that the Daughter of *France*, that was maried to *Henry* the 5th of *England*, in whose right both *Henry* the 5th, and her son *Henry* the sixth were crowned Kings of *France* in *Paris*, did after King *Henry* the 5th's death marry *Owen Tudor*, by whom she had 3. Sons, the two eldest were made the Earls of *Richmont* and *Pembroke*, being

the Kings Uterine Brothers, and the next heirs to that Title, that he claimed to the Crown of *France*, in the right of his Mother (which I am far from thinking was a good one.) This being the caſe, it was no extraordinary thing for a man of the Earl of *Richmont's* rank to marry a Lady that was then at ſuch a diſtance from the Crown, thô it was only in the 6th and not the 16th degree; but I do not inſiſt on this, becauſe it may be only the fault of the Printer, and I will not deſcend to a doubtful fault, when I have ſuch material ones in my way. I know there are a ſort of men that are much more aſhamed when their Ignorance is diſcovered, than when their other vices are laid open, ſince degenerate minds are

more

more jealous of the reputation of their underſtanding, than of their honour. And as Mr. *Varillas* is very like to be of this temper, ſo if a ſimpathy with Mr. *Maimbourg* has not wrought him up to the like pitch of aſſurance, ſuch diſcoveries as theſe ought to affect him a little; and here a man is apt to loſe his patience, when he finds ſuch a Scribler pretend to defame the Nobleſt blood in the world.

There is nothing elſe in the firſt Prophetick *Rhapſody* that relates to our matters, ſo I was inclined to go from hence to a more particular enquiry into our
Pag. 6. Engliſh affairs, only the Ignorance that he diſcovers in the next paragraph is ſo ſurpriſing that I will beſtow a ſhort remark on it. He ſays

ſays, that the Switzers were ſo prevailed on by this pretext, that their ſeparating themſelves from the Roman Communion was the beſt expedient to preſerve them from falling under the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria* (thô it is certain they were then in no ſort of fear of that) that the four chief Cantons were ſeduced in leſs than a years time; but that the ſeven little Cantons continued in the belief of their Fathers, and the two midle ſiſed Cantons tollerated equally both the Religions.

One would have thought that a man that had pretended to the name of a Hiſtorian, would have at leaſt begun his ſtudies with ſome ſmall taſt of Coſmography, and would have taken ſome pains

pains to know the Map; and as the *Switzers* are in the neighbourhood of *France*, ſo they have been ſo long the Allies of that Crown, that the Ignorance of the Importance of the Cantons is a fault in one that pretends to be ſuch an illuminated Hiſtorian, that deſerves a worſe correction than I think fit to give it. To reckon *Baſle* and *Shaffhouſen* among the great Cantons, and *Lucern* among the ſmall Cantons, *Solothern* and *Fribourg* being alſo ſo conſiderable that ſome reckon them with the great Cantons; and to put *Glaris* and *Appeuzel* in a ſuperiour order to them that are among the ſmalleſt of the leaſt is ſuch a Complication of errours that is not eaſy to imagine how he had the luck

luck to fetch in ſo many into one period. But this is not all the Ignorance that is in it; for whereas he pretends, that the four Cantons, that received the Reformation did it in leſs than a year, this is ſo falſe, that *Zwinglius* having begun to preach the Reformation in the year 1519. the whole matter was examined in a courſe of ſeveral years, and at laſt *Zurich* received the Reformation in the year 1525. *Bern* three years after in the year 1528. and *Baſle* a year after in the year 1529. as for *Schaffhouſe* I muſt confeſs my Ignorance, but there was at leaſt 10 years interval in this matter; and if *Lucern* is not ſo much in his favour, becauſe it is the Reſidence of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, yet I cannot imagine what has made

made him degrade *Solohern* into the number of the ſmall Cantons, which is the Reſidence of the French Ambaſſadour, and is reckoned by many among the greater. But it is likely that he knew nothing of all this matter, except by report, and perhaps he thought the period would run ſmoother to range the Cantons thus, in the great, in the ſmall, and the midle-ſiſed Cantons, and that it would alſo reflect on the Reformation as a precipitated change to ſay that 4 Cantons turnd in one year.

But thô Impertinence is a fault ſcarce to be named, when one has ſo many of a more criminal nature in his way, yet ſuch as are more ſignal and more advantageouſly ſituated for the Rea-

Reader's eye deſerve to be viewed in our paſſage, with the ſcorn that they deſerve. Mr. *Varillas* begins his 3. book, which opens the progreſs of *Luther's* affairs, with a Preamble of 38. pages, in which he ſets out the ſtate of *Europe* at that time, ſo copiouſly and with ſo little judgement, that he beſtows 14. pages on the Conqueſts that *Selim* the Turk had made, and on his defeat of the Mamelucks. This whole tedious ramble ſignifies nothing to *Luther's* matters; but in ſhort it was a ſecret to ſwell the Volume, and to raiſe the price of the book, as well as it muſt leſſen the price of the Author, who ſhews, how little he underſtands where he ought to place his digreſſions. What notions

tions does that view of every State of *Europe* give the world, that doe any way prepare the Readers mind; for what was to come after, unleſs it be that Mr. *Var.* being to preſent a piece of arrant Poetry as any that ever poſſeſſed the Stage, he thought it neceſſary to fill it at firſt with many Actors, and to make a great appearance, thô none of them were to act any part in his Play? But ſince he will needs be writing, thô he underſtands not the common Elements, I will take the pains for once to inſtruct him a little how he ought to have made this introduction, ſince he it ſeems was reſolved to begin with one.

He ought then to have open'd the State of *Europe* with Relation to Religion and Learning; he ought

to have ſhewed what ſcandals the Popes and the Court of *Rome* had given, what was the State of the ſecular Clergy, the Ignorance, Irregularity, and vices of the Biſhops, and Curates; what were the diſorders and diſſolutions of the Monaſtick Orders, both of thoſe that were endowed and of the Mendicants. He ought to have ſhewed in what ſort of Studies they imploied their time, and with what ſort of Sermons they entertained the People: and to this he ought to have added ſomewhat of the State of the Univerſities of *Europe*; and of the beginnings of Learning that were then ariſing. He ought to have ſhewed the different Intereſts, in which the ſeveral Nations of *Europe* were engaged, after the times

of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſle*; and to this he might have added the State of the Courts of *Europe* with Relation to Religion, upon all which he might have found matter for a long, and a much more pertinent Introduction. And to conclude, he ought to have told the Diſpoſitions, in which the Peoples minds were, as to thoſe matters: and if he would needs make a vain ſhew of his faculty of telling of tales, he might have ſet out the State of the *Eaſtern* Churches, after the Treaty at the Council of *Florence*, and of its effects; of the ruine of thoſe Churches; and of the Ignorance, as well as miſery to which they were reduced by the rigour of the *Mahometan* yoke. It is true this was not a neceſſary preliminary

nary to the bringing *Luther* on the Stage, but it had been much leſs impertinent, than a long recital of *Sultan Selim's* Conqueſts.

But I am carried too far, and hereafter I will confine my ſelf to that, which does more immediatly belong to me. He begins that part of his Advertiſement, that relates to the affairs of *England*, with a ſort of an Apophthegme worthy of him: *he ſays, it is without compariſon more difficult to be exactly true in matters of Religion, than in other matters, ſince in thoſe others, it is only Intereſt and Paſſion that make Men lie; but in matters of Religion Conſcience does ſo entirely conquer all the powers of the Soul, and reduces them to ſuch a Slavery, that it forces a man to write, that*

which it dictates, without troubling himself to examine whether it is true or false. Here is such a view of his Notion of Religion, that how false soever this proposition is in it self, yet it gives us a true light of his Ideas of Religion. Good God shall that principle, which does elevate, and illuminate our natures, be considered as a more powerful depravation of them, than that which flows either from Interest or Passion? shall that which is the Image of the God of Truth, and that reduces the Soul to a chast purity of Spirit, be made the Author of the enslaving of all our powers, and the emancipating us from all scrupulosity concerning truth or falsehood? this perhaps is the character of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, thô

thô those that know him well assure me, that Religion makes very little impression on him; and if that is true, then his Apophthegme fails in himself, since the Interest of a Pension, and the passion of making himself acceptable in the present time, have as entirely freed him from all regard to Truth, as ever any false Principle of Religion did an enraged Zealot. It is matter of horrour to see Religion, and Conscience set up as the violentest Corrupters of Truth: but we know out of what school this has sprung, and it seems Mr. *Varillas* has so devoted himself to the Order of the Jesuites, that he is resolved to speak aloud, that which they more prudently think fit to whisper in secret, and indeed if we

may judge of him by this character, that he gives of Religion, we must conclude him to be entirely possessed with it, since never Man seem'd to be less solicitous, than he is, concerning the truth, or falsehood of the things, that he avers.

He accuses me of favouring my own side too much, and that if I confess some of King *Henry's* faults, it is only that I may have an occasion to excuse the wretched *Cranmer*. This is some Intimation, as if he had read my Book, but I do not believe he has done it: for thô I have no great opinion either of his Vertue, or of his Understanding; yet I do not think, he is so forsaken of common sense, and of all regard to his reputation, as to have adventured

red to have advanced ſo many notorious falſehoods, if he had ſeen upon what Authentical grounds I had ſo expoſed them, that I doe not think it poſſible even for Mr. *Maimbourg* himſelf after all his 50 years Noviciat, to arrive at a confidence able to maintain them any longer, if he had once read my Book, and what I had writ was at leaſt ſo important, that he ought to have weakned the credit of my Hiſtory, by ſome more evident proofs, than that of ſaying barely, that I was extream partial to my own ſide. My book was ſo much read, and ſo favourably ſpoken of in *France* theſe three Years paſt, that in common decency he ought to have alledged ſomewhat, to have juſtified his

Cenſure; but this manner of writing was more eaſy, as well as more imperious. And if a large Volume of Hiſtory ſupported with the moſt Authentick proofs, that has ever yet perhaps accompanied any Book of that ſort, is to be thus ſhaken off, it is a vain thing to write Books for Men of Mr. *Varillas's* temper.

This had been more pertinent, if he had voucht for it a report, which was ſo ſpread over *Paris*, that I had received advices of it from ſeveral hands, of a deſign in which, as was reported, a Clergy man was engaged that has many excellent qualities, to which Mr. *Varillas* ſeems to be a great Stranger, for he has both great application, and much ſincerity. He has ſearcht with great exactneſs

neſs that vaſt Collection of Mſſ. that relate to the laſt Age, which are laid up in the King's Library, and he had found ſo many things relating to *England*; that he intended to publiſh a Volume of Memoires relating to our Affairs: he had alſo ſaid, that in ſome things he would enlarge himſelf more copiouſly than I had done, and that in other things he muſt differ from me: Matters generally grow bigger by being oft told, ſo this was given out as a deſign to write a Counter-Hiſtory, which ſhould overthrow all the credit that my Work had got. But upon my coming to *Paris*, I found ſome ſincere enquirers into truth, and who by conſequence are Men that have no value for Mr. *Varillas*, who intended to bring us toge-

ther that we might in an amicable manner reaſon the matter before ſome of our common Friends, and both of us ſeemed to be ſo well diſpoſed to ſacrifice all to truth, that two Perſons of ſuch Eminence, that they can receive no honour by the moſt advantageous Characters that I can give them, who were Mr. *Thevenot* and Mr. *Auzont*, did procure us a meeting in the King's Library, and in their preſence. In which the Abbot as he diſcovered a vaſt memory, great exactneſs, and much ſincerity, ſo he confeſſed that he had no exceptions to the main parts of my Hiſtory; he mentioned ſome things of leſs moment, in all which I gave not only our two learned Arbiters, but even himſelf full ſatisfaction, ſo

that

that I quickly perceived I had to do with a man of honour. He inſiſted moſt on the judgment of the *Sorbonne* againſt K. *Henry's* Mariage, which is not in their Regiſters.. But I was certainly informed by a Dr. of the *Sorbonne* that their Regiſters are extreamly defective, and that many of their Books are loſt. He alledged a letter to K. *Henry* that he had ſeen, telling him, that it was to be feared that he might be diſpleaſed with the deciſion of the *Sorbonne*, and that it might doe him more hurt than good, which Letter bearing date after the deciſion that I have printed, does not ſeem to agree with it. To this I anſwered, that all the other deciſions of Univerſities being given ſimply in the King's favour,

favour, and that of the *Sorbonne* bearing only, that the Majority had declared for him, this left a blot upon the matter, since when the oppoſition is inconſiderable, deciſions are given in the Name of the whole Body; but the mention of the Majority imported, that there was a great oppoſition made, which, tho it was not ſupported by a number equal to the other, yet was ſo conſiderable, as to leſſen very much the credit of the Deciſion. To this I added, that K. *Henry's* printing this the year after it was given, and none ever accuſing that piece of Forgery, Card. *Pool* on the contrary acknowledging that he was in *Paris* when it was obtained, theſe were undeniable Evidences of its genuineneſs,

to

to which he anſwered by a hearty acknowledgment, that he had ſeen another Letter, in which the detail of the whole Proceeding of the *Sorbonne* is ſet down; and, as I remember, there were but one or two more than the Majority, that opined on the King's ſide; but the reſt were in different Claſſes. Some ſuſpended their opinions, others, thô they condemned the Mariage, yet did not think it could be broken, ſince it was once made: and ſome were poſitively of the Pope's ſide. In end, after ſome hours diſcourſe, in which all the Company was fully ſatisfied with the Anſwers that I gave, he concluded, that as he had ſeen many more Letters relating to that matter than I had done, ſo if I

thought fit, he would furniſh me with a Volume of Authentical proofs for what I had writ, greater than that which I had already printed. And theſe were the Letters of the French Ambaſſadours, that were in King *Henry* the 8th's Court, that are in the King's Library; but I did not ſtay long enough in *Paris* to procure this.

Now what thoſe Letters of Cardinal *Bellays* are, upon which Mr. *Varillas* pretends to found his Relation, I cannot Imagine. For as he came not to act in this matter till the laſt ſtep of it; ſo his Letters cannot carry any long Series of this affair in them, and they muſt be far from giving thoſe long excurſions, into which Mr. *Varillas* always delights to wander. And, as I remember,

I

I was in particular told, that thoſe Letters were in the King's Library, and ſo, ſince all that was there, agreed with my Hiſtory, this muſt paſt among thoſe hardy Citations of Authors, that Mr. *Varillas* is apt to make, to give credit to his Inventions.

He flouriſhes a little to ſhew ſome ſmall reading, but he is as unhappy in that, as in other things. He mentions *Cambden*, as having writ the Hiſtory of that Revolution with ſome more moderation, than he is pleaſed to allow me; but he ſays, he does ſo conſtantly favour the *Calviniſts*, in prejudice of thoſe that he calls *Catholicks*, that one needs only read the firſt page, that turns up to him, in any part of his Hiſtory, to be convinced of it. This

is a very good proof that Mr. *Varillas* never opened any one page of *Cambden*; Since he does not write of that Revolution. For he begins his History with Q. *Elisabeth's* Reign, and says no more of what went before her time, than what amounts to a very short hint of her Birth and Education, and a general Introduction into her Reign; and that History is writ with so much judgment and impartiality, that as it acquired the Author the friendship and esteem of that eminent Historian Mr. *du Thou*; so he after *Cambden's* Death published the second Volume, from the Manuscript that the Author had sent him. If the discovery of a great many Rebellions and Conspiracies against the Person of

that

that famous Queen is that, which diſguſts Mr. *Varillas* at that Hiſtory, it is becauſe his Religion has ſo enſlaved his Conſcience, that he is ſo little concerned in Truth or Falſehood, as not to be able to endure one of the graveſt Writers, that this Age has produced, becauſe he could not avoid the Recital of thoſe many Crimes, that ſome of the Men of Mr. *Varilla's* principles as to Religion were not afraid to commit. After this he mentions another of our Hiſtorians, whom he calls Dr. *Morton*, and to make his Reader know that he is acquainted with the Hiſtory of his Life, he tell us he was afterwards a Biſhop; but this is one of the Authors of his invention, for thô we had a Doctor *Morton*, that was

Biſhop of *Durham*, and that died about 30 years ago; yet he writ no Hiſtory. By the Character that Mr. *Varillas* gives this pretended Author, that he was more moderate than *Cambden*, I fancy he is miſtaken in the Name, and that he would ſay Dr. *Heylin*, thô this Name and *Morton* have no affinity; but *Heylin* was no Biſhop: it is true, Dr. *Heylin* has writ ſo moderately, that ſome have been ſevere upon him for it; but I will make no other Reflections on this, unleſs it be to ſhew the ſlightneſs of Mr. *Varillas's* way of writing, who it is likely had heard one talk at the ſame time both concerning Dr. *Morton* and Dr. *Heylin*, and he in his aſſuming way, pretends upon this to give a Character of

that

that Hiſtory, putting the Name *Morton* for *Heylin*; but he never read a Word of Dr. *Heylin*, tho in his daring way, he pretends to give his Character; and repents himſelf of the praiſe of Moderation that he had given in preference to *Cambden*, and ſets it out as an artifice, ſince whereas *Cambden* blames always the pretended Catholicks without any mitigations, *Morton* in blaming them counterfeits ſome pity for them, that is to ſay, he had ſome degrees of Mr. *Varillas's* Character of Religion. But Dr. *Heylin's* Hiſtory being writ only in Engliſh, and it having never been tranſlated either into Latin or French, Mr. *Varillas* cannot give a Character of it from his own knowledg.

From our side he goes to the Writers of the Roman side, and begins with another essay of his exactness to his principles of Religion. For he says, *Sanders* writ so violently, that it was no wonder if the Protestants caried their revenge so far, as to force him to die of hunger, in the Mountains of the North of *England*, to which he had retired. Here are only three capital Errours: for 1. *Sanders's* Book, concerning the English Schisme, was not published till after his Death, so that this could give no occasion for so severe a revenge. 2. *Sanders* did not die in the North of *England*, but in *Ireland*. 3. *Sanders* was sent over by the Pope to raise and conduct a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which he had immediate powers from the

the Pope. He was ſo active, that he brought an Army together, which was defeated by the Queen's Forces; and upon that he fled into a Wood, where he was, ſome days after, found dead. So that having received no Wounds, it was believed he died of Hunger. This being the ſtate of that affair, as it is related of all ſides, is not Mr. *Varillas* a very creditable Author, who has the brow to report it as he does? For the Character that he gives of *Ribadeneira*, it is ſo embroiled, that I do not think it worth the vvhile to examine it. It is enough to ſay that *Ribadeneira* is a Jeſuit, that is to ſay, a Man true to Mr. *Varillas* his Character of Religion, and his Hiſtory is nothing but *Sanders* dreſt up in another

Me-

Method. I ſpeak of that which is in Latin, for the Spaniſh, I have never ſeen it. For *Leſley* he is generally a grave and wiſe Writer, but Mr. *Varillas* names him, becauſe ſome body had told him, that one of ſuch a name had writ of thoſe matters, otherwiſe he had never cited him with relation to Engliſh Affairs, which he ſcarce ever mentions, but as they happened to be intermixt with the Scotch.

In concluſion, Mr. *Varillas* pretends to depend upon Cardinal *Bellay's* Letters, and ſo he thinks here is enough to ſettle, in the ſpirit of his Reader, a firm belief of all that he intends to write; but let him tell the World where they are to be found, ſince the printed Volume contains nothing

thing of the matters, that he pretends to cite from him. And ſince I have printed ſo many of the Original Letters of that Time, and have told the Reader where they are to be found, I will expect the like from him, otherwiſe let him cite them as long as he will, I will take the liberty to tell him that I do not believe him. And I think, that by this time I have given him ſufficient reaſons for excuſing my Incredulity, in matters that he gives us upon his own word. Here is enough for a preliminary. But I am affraid I grow heavy to my Reader; and that by this time he is ſo fully ſatisfied concerning the principles both of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, and his morals, that he begins to loſe patience, when he

he ſees how far I am like to carry him in a more copious diſcovery. But there are a ſort of men, that muſt be ſeverely repreſſed: and there are ſome times, in which even a fool is to be anſwered according to his folly. Yet I will ſo far manage my Reader, as not to overcharge him too much; therefore as to many of thoſe Political digreſſions, that Mr. *Var.* makes upon the Intereſt of *England*, *France* and *Spain*, I will paſs them quite over, as the whipped cream that he ſets before his Reader. Some of them are not unpleaſant, if they were propoſed as conſiderations, which might perhaps have had their weight: but his averring them confidently is not to be excuſed, they might paſs in a kind of a Book of Politicks as a refi-

refining upon the actions of Princes; but this way of writing is by no means to be allowed in Hiſtory, ſince it is without any ſort of evidence, and Hiſtory ought to relate things as we find they really were deſigned, and tranſacted; and not as we imagine they ought or might have been. I am now entring upon a ſubject, in which it will be much more eaſy for me to ſay too much, than too little: for Mr. *Varillas* commits ſo many Errours, that tho' I am reſolved to let leſſer matters paſs unregarded, yet I find ſo many in my way, which require a diſcovery, that I am engaged in a task as ingrateful to my ſelf, as it muſt be ſevere upon him.

„ 1. He begins with an aſſu- P. 226.
„ rance, that all the reſt of *Wi-*

"*clef's* Hereſy were ſo entirely "rooted out of *England*, that the „ whole Nation, without excep- „ ting one ſingle Perſon, was of „ the ſame Religion during the „ Reign of *Henry* the 7th.

I am not now near the Records of that time, but in my Hiſtory I have ſhewed by the Records of K. *Henry* the 8th's Reign, that in the year 1511, which was but two years after *Henry* the 7th's Death, there remain yet in the Regiſters of the See of *Canterbury* the Proceſſes of 41 Perſons, of whom 7 were condemned for Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the reſt had the weakneſs to abjure: and from this hint one muſt conclude, that Mr. *Varillas* had no knowledg of our Affairs; but he thought

thought the Period was rounder, and the air of writing was more aſſuming, when he aſſerted that the whole Nation, without excepting one ſingle Perſon, was of the ſame Religion. The Opinions, objected to thoſe Perſons, ſhew, that the Reformation found a diſpoſition in the Nation, to receive it by the Doctrines which were entertained by many in it: For the chief of them are, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not Chriſt's Body, but material Bread: That Images ought not to be worſhipped: That Pilgrimages were neither neceſſary nor profitable: and that we ought not to addreſs our Prayers to Saints, but only to God.

But ſince this may be thought

only a flouriſh of Mr. *Varillas*'s Pen, I go to other matters, in which it cannot be denied that a greater exactneſs was neceſſary.

p. 228. „ 2. He lays down for a foun-
„ dation to all that was to come
„ after, that P. *Arthur* was very
„ unhealthy, when he was mar-
„ ried. That he was recovering
„ out of a great Diſeaſe, of which
„ he died 5 Months after. It is
„ true, he does acknowledg,
„ that three Words in the Bull,
„ that was granted for the ſubſe-
„ quent Marriage, ſeem to im-
„ port, that this Marriage was
„ conſummated: yet he takes the
„ Word of the other Hiſtorians,
„ and repeats this of P. *Arthur*'s
„ ill Health ſo often, that he ho-
„ ped, it ſeems, by that means

to

„ to make his Reader ſwallow it
„ down eaſily.

Here he had writ a little more artificially, if he had ſet over againſt this, on the Margent ſome citation of a Letter, or Recital, which would have coſt him nothing, and have been full as true, as his other citations are. Many Witneſſes that were examined upon Oath, depoſed before the Legates, when this matter was examined, that P. *Arthur* was of a good Complexion, vigorous and robuſt, when he was married; that he bedded with his Princeſs every night: and the Decay of which he died, was aſcribed to his too early Mariage. And of this Mr. *Varillas* takes ſome notice, without reflecting on the conſequence, that the Rea-

der might naturally draw from
p. 249. it; for he says, K. *Henry* the 7th. delayed the marrying of his second Son 6 years after he had obtained the Bull, and that the Death of his eldest Son made him apprehend the loss of his second Son, if he married him so young, and tho' he interweaves a Politick reflection, according to his way, that is to say impertinently, and says, if this fear was not altogether just; yet since K. *Henry* the 7th had no other Son, it was not altogether unreasonable. But it is obvious that this is altogether impertinent, if P. *Arthur's* Mariage went no further than a publick Ceremony. But there are other circumstances that overthrow this, as much as a thing that is of its nature secret, is capable

paple of being diſproved. It is ſaid by our Hiſtorians, who writ at that time, that the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour took proofs of the conſummation of the Mariage. And in the Bull of diſpenſation, for the ſubſequent Mariage, this was alſo ſuppoſed as a thing that was perhaps done. But tho' our Author ſet on the Margent the preciſe Words, in which he ſays that was conceived; yet either he never read the Bull, and ſo took this upon truſt, or he was in a fit of his Religion, which was ſo violent, that it made him not only take no care of what he ſaid, whether it was true or falſe; but made him advance a deliberate falſehood. For whereas in the Preamble of the Bull of Diſpenſation for the younger Bro-

p. 239. Illudque carnali copula forſan conſummavi Etiamſi Matrimonium fuerit per carnalem copulam conſummatum.

ther, it is set forth, that *P. Arthur* and the Princess had been lawfully married, and had perhaps consummated their Mariage, where the matter of fact is set down in a dubious manner, he makes that the Dispensation had allowed their Mariage, even tho' the former had been consummated. And as the Words that he cites are not the Words of the Bull, so they give a different notion of the matter; since as he gives the Words, they seem only to be a clause put in, to make the Bull more unquestionable; whereas in truth they are a part of the matter of fact represented to the Pope, And tho' this doubtful way of representing this matter of fact, that is in the Bull, was all that could be decently said

said upon this case, yet it seems the Spaniards, who knew the Mariage was consummated, resolved to set the matter past dispute, for they either procured at that time a Breve, of the same date with the Bull, or they forged one afterwards, in which in the Preamble this matter is asserted, without any *perhaps*, or other limiting Word, it being positively set forth, that the Mariage was consummated. If Mr. *Varillas's* Religion sets him at liberty from the scrupulosity of writing truth, yet that profound Policy to which he always pretends, should oblige him to take a little care, that the falsehoods that he advances, may not be easily discovered.

3. „ He says, *Henry* the 8th „ was p. 232.

„ was 12. year old, when his Bro-
„ ther died; and that his Father
„ had designed him for the Ec-
„ clesiastical State.

This was taken up by the Writers of the last Age, to make the Parallel between *Julian* the Emperour and him seem to agree: that as *Julian* had been a Reader in the Church; so King *Henry* should be represented as an *Abbot* with a little band. But as King *Henry* was not 12 year old, when his brother died, for he wanted some Months of 11: and as at that Age young Princes, considering the respect that is payed to them in their Education, have seldome been found far advanced in Learning; so it does not appear, that he had then any other Education different from what

what was given to his Brother, who underſtood Latin, and ſome of the beginnings of Learning. Learning was then in great reputation, and K. *Henry* the 7th engaged his Children to ſtudy, either to raiſe their Authority the higher by that means; or perhaps to amuſe them with Learning, that they might not think of pretending to the Crown during his Life, ſince the undoubted Title to it reſting in the Perſon of their Mother, it had devolved upon them by her Death, tho' they did not think fit to claim their Right.

„ 4. He ſays, that when K. „ *Henry* the 7th intended to mar- „ ry his youger Son to P. *Arthur's* „ Widdow, the Privy Council „ of *England* approved it the „ more Ibid.

„ more easily, because of the pre-
„ caution that had been taken to
„ hinder the consummation of
„ the former Mariage: and to
„ confirm this, he cites on the
„ Margent the Petition, that the
„ Parliament of *England* offered
„ upon this matter to P. *Alexan-*
„ *der* the 6th.

But as the Depositions are yet extant of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that was then a Privy Councellour, and of two others, that there was no precaution used to hinder the Consummation; so *Warham*, that was at that time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, opposed the second Mariage, as being neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, as he himself did afterwards depose upon Oath. The Parliament took no Cogni-

Cogniſance of the matter, nor did it make any addreſs to the Pope; ſo that this Citation is to be conſidered as an Effect of Mr. *Varillas* his notion of Religion.

"5. *He* runs out, in his manner, into a long ſpeculation "concerning the different interests of *England* and *Spain*, that "made the Spaniards go backwards and forwards, in the "agreeing to the Match, that "was propoſed for P. *Henry* and "the Princeſs; whom by an extravagant affectation he calls always Duke of *York*: and makes "the Princeſs's Parents repreſent to K. *Henry* the *7th*, the "danger of his Son's growing "weary of the Princeſs, ſince he "was 4 year younger than ſhe "was, and that in order to the P. 235.

"procuring of a diſſolution of the "Mariage from the Court of "*Rome*, he might pretend that "his Father had forced him to "marry her, whenever he ſhould "grow weary of her.

All the other Writers of that time put K. *Henry* the *7th*'s deſiring this ſecond Mariage meerly on his covetouſneſs, which made him equally unwilling to repay the Portion, or to ſend a great joynture yearly after the Princeſs: and the Prince of *Wales* was too great a Match to be ſo uneaſily admitted by the King and Queen of *Spain*. He whom he calls by the Title of the Duke of *York*, was indeed only Duke of *York*, for ſome Months after his Brother's Death, during which time it was ſuppoſed, that the Prin-

Princeſs might be with child by his Brother; which proves beyond exception, that it was believed, that the firſt Mariage was conſummated. But when there was no more reaſon to apprehend that, then he carried the Title, that belongs to the Heir apparent of our Crown. But it ſeems the King and Queen of *Spain* were more eaſily ſatisfied in this matter, than Mr. *Varillas* would make us believe they were: for two years after the Bull was granted, when P. *Henry* came to be of Age, he inſtead of entring into any engagement to marry the Princeſs, made a ſolemn proteſtation in the hands of the Biſhop of *Winchester*, by which he recalled the conſent that he had given during his Mi-

nority, and declared that he would never marry her. But it is very likely Mr. *Varillas* had never heard of this, tho' the instrument of that Protestation was not only mentioned, but printed by many of the Writers of that Age; and it is confessed by *Sanders* himself, who, after all Mr. *Varillas's* flourish with his Letters, is his only Author. And for this foresight, that he thinks he may justly ascribe to the King and Queen of *Spain*, because they are represented by the Writers of that time, to have had an extraordinary Sagacity, the reason that he makes them give, shews it was a contrivance of his own; since a mortal force, such as the Authority of a Father, was never so much as pretended to be a just

ground

ground to annul a Mariage, after it was made and conſummated; otherwiſe moſt of the Mariages that have been made, might have been diſſolved.

„ 6. He adds to this another „ ſpeculation, that is worthy of „ him, he pretends that the King „ and Queen of *Spain* apprehended, that K. *Henry* the 7th had „ acquired the Crown of *England*, and by conſequence had „ a right to diſpoſe of it at his „ pleaſure; upon which the „ Crown of *Spain* was afraid, „ leaſt he ſhould have diſinherited his Son, and given the „ Crown to the Duke of *Suffolk*, „ that was then at *Bruſſels*, and „ was preparing an Invaſion of „ *England*, from which they did „ not know, but K. *Henry* the 7th „ might p. 236.

„ might save himself, by declaring *Suffolk* his Successour, and „ that upon those fears they were „ unwilling to consent to the „ Match.

Here is such a mixture of Follies, that it is not easy to tell which of them is the most remarkable. This Doctrin of the Crown of *England's* being alienable at the King's pleasure, might have passed well with those, that some years ago thought to have shut out the next Heir, and yet even these did not pretend that it could have been done by the King alone. But here is a new Theory of Politicks, for which we are sure Mr. *Varillas* can cite no Authorities from the Laws and Constitutions of *England*. K. *Henry* the 7th had indeed acquired

quired the Crown, by defeating that Tyrant and Uſurper *Richard* the 3d: but as he pretended to be Heir of the *Lancaſtrian* Race himſelf, ſo by marrying to the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, that was the right Heir, he by a conjunction of all Titles, made the matter ſure. But this gave him no right to alienate the Crown at his pleaſure, and to fancy, that a King might be induced to give away his Crown from his own Son, to the Perſon in the World that he hated moſt, and whom at his Death he ordered his Son never to forgive; who, by the way, was not Duke but only Earl of *Suffolk*, is a Dream better becoming ſo fleight a brain as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, than the conſummated wiſdome of the

King and Queen of *Spain*. But thus it falls out when a Library Keeper turns States-man; and when from being a teller of tales, he will turn a Writer of Histories, which he composes out of his own Imaginations, he must needs fall into childish errours. When do Kings fall under those weaknesses, as to disinherit an only Son, to cover them from a remote fear: and a very remote one it was; for the Archduke needed at that time the assistance of *England* against *France* too much, to be in a condition to raise a Civil War in *England*, and to support a competition to the Crown, which could have no other effect, as to him, but to give *France* an opportunity, during the distractions of *England*, to

to come and deſtroy him. In ſhort, here is a Viſion of a poor-ſpirited Pedant, which is too much conſidered, when it is named and laught at.

„ 7. He pretends to enter into „ the reaſons that were alledged „ at *Rome*, both for and againſt „ the granting of the Bull; but at „ laſt he concludes, that Pope „ *Alexander* the 6th would not „ conſent to it; that he might „ not give occaſion to accuſe him, „ of having broken the Diſcipline „ of the Church. P. 237.

But here is ſuch a falſe repreſentation of the Court of *Rome* at that time, and in particular of P. *Alexander* the 6th, that ſince Mr. *Varillas* will needs write Romances, I muſt put him in mind of one Rule; that as Painters ſhew

shew their Judgment and Learning, in that which is in one Word called *le Custome*, observing the Air, Manners, and Habits of the Ages and Scenes to which their Pieces belong; so Poets, when they bring unknown Names into their Plays, they may cloath them with what Characters they please; but if they represent Men, whose Histories are known, they must not confound Characters, nor represent a *Nero* as a grave Philosopher, or as a good natur'd Prince; nor a *Marcus Aurelius* as a wanton Stage-Player, or as a bloody Tyrant. And therefore, tho' Mr. *Varillas* may shew his pretended discoveries, concerning Men that are less known, yet when he brings in an *Alexander* the 6th

on

on the Stage, it is too bold a violation of Poetry, to lay a ſtrictneſs of Conſcience, or a ſenſe of Honour to his charge: and tho' there is one part of this Period true, that there had never been any diſpenſation of this ſort formerly granted, to ſerve as a Precedent for it: yet that exactneſs, in which he repreſents the Enquiry, that the Divines of *Rome* made concerning this matter, agrees ill with the State of the Court of *Rome* at that time; and a Painter may as juſtly repreſent the old Romans in Pantaloons, and with Hats in their hands.

„ 8. He ſays, K. *Henry* the 7th p. 240. 241
„ was preparing all things for the
„ Mariage of his Son, to the
„ Princeſs, when he died. And
„ a little before that he had ſaid,
„ that

„ that her Parents ſacrificed the „ Intereſt of their Family to the „ ſatisfaction of the King of *En-* „ *gland*, by conſenting to it.

A Match with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, was no very coſtly Sacrifice: and for his viſion concerning the deſign of marrying her to the Duke of *Calabria*, and by that means of reſtoring the Kingdome of *Naples*, it does ſo ill agree with the Character of the King of *Arragon*, that ſince there is no proof brought of this, I muſt look on it as one of thoſe Imaginations, with which Mr. *Varillas* loves to entertain his Readers. But for K. *Henry* the 7th, he was ſo far from making any preparations for the Mariage, that one of the Writers of that Age aſſures us, that

Moriſon.

that at his Death he charged his Son to break it, apprehending perhaps a return of a new civil War, upon the issue of a doubtful Mariage.

„ He gives us a new taste of „ his unskillfulness in ordering „ his Scenes. He had found that „ when *Henry* the 8th's Divorce „ came to be started, there was „ some discourse of a Match be„ tween him and *Francis* the first's „ Sister, afterwards the Queen „ of *Navarre*, and therefore he „ thought a proposition for her, „ might come in before the Ma„ riage, as a pretty ornament to „ his Fable.

But the silence of all the Papers of that Time, which I have seen, is a much better evidence against it, than his pretended

negotiation of Mr. *de Piennes* is for it, to which no credit is due. It is well known that in the Archives of *Venice* there are Recitals laid up of all the Negotiations of their Ambaſſadours, and Mr. *Varillas* having perhaps heard of this, he fancied it would have a good grace, to cite ſuch Recitals as to French Affairs, tho' all that know the State of *France*, know, that this has not been the practice of that Court. But as there is no proof to ſhew that there was any ſuch Propoſition made at that Time, ſo the State of K. *Lewis* the 12th's Court differs extreamly from it, in which the Count of *Angouleme*, afterwards *Francis* the firſt, and his Siſter, were not ſo favourable, as to give us reaſon to think that

pains was taken to raiſe that Lady to the Throne of *England*.

„ 10. He tells us, that King „ *Henry* the 8th calling a Parliament in the beginning of his „ Reign, they thought themſelves bound in point of Honour, to oblige to execute his „ Father's Orders, relating to „ his Mariage; who had not only made it the chief Article of „ his Teſtament, and charged „ his Son to do it upon his laſt „ Bleſſing; but had laid the ſame „ charge on the Men of the greateſt Credit in *England*, as he „ ſpoke his laſt Words to them: „ upon which the Parliament „ being careful to maintain this „ Authority, to which they pretended, over their Maſter, „ did oblige him, by repeated

„Remonſtrances to marry the „Princeſs.

Here he goes to ſhow how implacably he is ſet againſt the Crown of *England*: formerly he had debaſed their Birth, but he thought that was not enough; now he will degrade them of their Dignity, and give the Parliament a Superiority over them. But it is a fatal thing for an ignorant Man to write Hiſtory: for if Mr. *Varillas* could have ſo much as opened our Book of Statutes, he would have found, that the firſt Parliament, that K. *Henry* the 8th held, was aſſembled the 21. of *January* 1510. almoſt 8. Months after the Mariage, which was celebrated ſix Weeks after he came to the Crown, in which time, if Mr. *Varillas* had un-

underſtood any thing of our Conſtitutions, he would have known, that it was impoſſible for a Parliament to have met, ſince there muſt be 40. Days between a Summons and a Meeting of Parliament; ſo that if the new King had ſummoned one, the Day after his Father's Death, it could not have met ſooner, than the day before the Mariage.

„ 11. He ſays, the Queen bore Ibid.
„ five Children, the firſt three,
„ Sons, and the other two, Girls;
„ but the eldeſt Son lived only 9
„ Months, the other two Sons,
„ and the eldeſt Girl, died imme-
„ diately after they were born,
„ only the youngeſt, that was
„ born the 8 of *February* 1515,
was longer lived.

Mr. *Varillas* has a peculiar ta-

lent of committing more Errours in one single Period, than any Writer of the Age: and here he has given a good essay of his art; for the Queen bore only three Children, the first was a Son, born the 1 of *January*, that died the 22 of *February* thereafter, which was not two full Months, much less 9 Months: the second Son died not immediatly, but about a Fortnight after he was born: and the Daughter, afterwards Q. *Mary*, was born the 9th of *February* 1516. So that tho' by chance he hath hit the Month right, yet he is mistaken, both as to the Year, and the Day of the Month. So unadvised a thing it is for an ignorant Writer, to deliver matters of fact so particularly: for tho' this may deceive

ceive others, that are as ignorant as himſelf, by an appearance of exactneſs; yet it lays him too open to thoſe, that can find the leiſure and the patience to expoſe him: and the laſt is no eaſy matter.

„ 12. He runs out into a very „ copious account of K. *Henry's* „ Diſorders, and dreſſes up Q. „ *Katherine's* Devotions in a very „ ſublime ſtrain.

It does not appear, that in all that time he had any other Miſtreſs, but *Eliſabeth Binnt*: and during all that while, he had the higheſt Panigyriques made him by all the Clergy of *Europe*, upon his Zeal for Religion and Piety; poſſible ſo, that if we did not live in an Age, in which Flattery has broke looſe from all the reſtraints of Decency, they would p. 246.

appear very extravagant Commendations; and if the ſublimities of Flattery were not rather a juſt prejudice againſt a Prince, which give a character of a ſwelling Ambition, and an imperious Tyranny, that muſt be courted by ſuch abject methods, ſo that it is hard, whether we ought to think worſe of the Flaterers, or the Flatered, we would be tempted to judge very advantageouſly of K. *Henry* the 8th, by the Dedications, and other fawning Addreſſes that were made him. As for Q. *Katherine*, it does appear, that ſhe was indeed a vertuous and devout Woman; but Mr. *Varillas* being more accuſtomed to Legends, than to true Hiſtories, could not ſet out this, without a conſiderable addition of

of his own: for the half of it is not mentioned by any Author, that ever I ſaw, nor by any quoted by himſelf: but a Poet muſt adorn his matter, and if he has not judgment, he overdoes it.

„ 13. He ſays, the King de- p. 248.
„ ſigned to marry his natural Son
„ the Duke of *Richmont*, to his
„ Daughter *Mary*; upon which
„ he makes that long digreſſion,
„ concerning the Names of the
„ Race of *Tudors*, that was for-
„ merly conſidered.

When a Man affirms a thing, that is ſo notoriouſly injurious to the Memory of a Prince, he ought at leaſt to give ſome ſort of proof of its truth: for tho' in the acceſſes of Mr. *Varillas's* Religious Fits, he does not think fit to trouble himſelf with thoſe inconſidera-

ble

ble matters of Truth and Falſehood; yet all the World is not of his mind, and ſome colours of Truth are at leaſt lookt for. It is true, a Negative is not eaſily proved, ſo a bold Affirmer fancies, he has ſome advantages; but in this caſe it is quite otherwiſe, for the whole ſeries of the Original Inſtructions, Meſſages and Letters, that paſſed between *Rome* and *England*, in that matter, are ſtill extant, in all which there is not the leaſt tittle, relating to this Propoſition. And there are ſome things of ſuch indecency, that nothing but a temper like Mr. *Varillas*'s can bring them together. For when K. *Henry* was pretending a ſcruple of Conſcience, at his own marrying his Brother's Wife, it is very improbable,

probable, that he would have asked a Diſpenſation for a Mariage in a much nearer Degree. For *Sanders*, that is, Mr. *Varillas's* Author ſays, that both Propoſitions were made at the ſame time. There were many Libels Printed againſt K. *Henry*, about that time, but the ſtrongeſt, and the beſt writ, was that of Cardinal *Pools*, in which it is viſible, that he ſpares nothing that he could alledg with any colour of Truth; yet he ſays nothing of this matter, tho' it had more weight in it to diſcover the King's Hypocriſy, in pretending to ſcruples of Conſcience, than all the other things he alledges: and I never could find any other Author for this Story, before *Sanders*, whoſe Book was printed 60 years after.

„ 14. He

p. 250. „ 14. He gives another eſſay
„ of his Skill in Hiſtory, and that
„ he is equally ignorant of the
„ Hiſtories of all Kingdoms,
„ when he repreſents to us the
„ endeavours of the King of *Scot-*
„ *land*, for the obtaining of a Ma-
„ riage with the Princeſs *Mary*,
„ in favours of his Son, upon
„ whoſe Perſon he beſtows a kind
„ daſh of his Pen, and he enters
„ into a Speculation of the danger,
„ that King *Henry* apprehended
„ from this Propoſition; and that
„ if he had rejected it, the King
„ and Prince of *Scotland* might
„ have addreſſed themſelves for
„ it to the Parliament, and that
„ the Parliament would have raiſ-
„ ed a general Rebellion, rather
" than have ſuffered King *Henry*
„ to reject it.

The

The diſlike that Mr. *Varillas* has conceived againſt the Crown of *England*, ſeems deeply rooted in him; for it returns very often. Here he repreſents foreign Princes complaining to Parliaments, when the Kings do not accept of Propoſitions for their Children; as if our Princes were leſs at liberty in the diſpoſal of their Children, than the meaneſt of their Subjects are: but he knows our Conſtitution as little as he does the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, otherwiſe he could not have repreſented the King of *Scotland*, as pretending to the Mariage of the Princes *Mary* for his Son; ſince K. *James* the fourth, that had married King *Henry's* Siſter, was kill'd at the Battel of *Flodden* the 2 *September* 1513, above

three Years before the Princeſs was born, he left an Infant Son, between whom and the Princeſs a Treaty of a Mariage was once propoſed, but no progreſs was made in it, for K. *Henry* neglected it. And he had always his Parliaments ſo ſubject to him, to apprehend any of thoſe vain Schemes, with which Mr. *Varillas* would poſſeſs his Reader. There are many that make no great Progreſs in Hiſtory, but yet know ſomewhat of the Deaths of Kings, and that carry ſome ſmall meaſure of Chronology in their Head. Yet ſince Mr. *Varillas* has not yet got ſo far, he had beſt buy ſome common Chronological Tables, and have them always before him, when he writes; and this will at leaſt preſerve

ſerve him from ſuch childiſh Errours.

„ 15. He tells us, that there P. 251.
„ were many Pretenders to the
„ young Princeſs, and to make a
„ full Period, he tells us, that all
„ the Soveraigns of *Europe* cour-
„ ted her, both the Emperour,
„ the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and
„ *Scotland*, and ſo he gives us a
„ fantaſtical Speculation of King
„ *Henry's* balancing thoſe Propo-
„ ſitions one againſt another.

But ſince for a round Period's ſake he will needs ſplit *Charles* the 5th. in two, and name both the Emperour and the K. of *Spain* as two Pretenders, he might as well have ſubdivided him into the King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, *Sicily* and *Naples*, and the very Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*,

might have come in for its ſhare.

P. 252. „ 16. He tells us that tho' the „ match of *Scotland* was the moſt „ for the Intereſt of the Nation; yet „ King *Henry* was ſo angry with „ his Nephew the King of *Scot-* „ *land*, for taking part againſt him, „ in his laſt war with *France*, „ that he reſolved never to give „ him his Daughter.

Here Mr. *Varillas* will ſee again the neceſſity of purchaſing a Chronological Table, for tho' that will coſt him ſome money, which as I am told, goes very near his heart; yet it will preſerve him from ſome ſcurvy errours, they may ſpoil the ſale of his books: for any one of thoſe Tables, even the worſt and cheepeſt, would have ſhewed him, that it was not his Nephew that took part with

France

France againſt him; but his Nephews's Father: for King *James* the 4th, that was King *Henry's* Brother-in-law, made war on that occaſion, and was killed in it, leaving an Infant Son behind him; but it is pleaſant to ſee the Ignorance of this Scribler, that makes in one place King *James* the 4th to court the Princeſs for his Son, tho' he died ſeveral years before ſhe was born, and then makes King *James* the fifth to be making war with his Uncle, during his Father's life, and while himſelf was an Infant.

„ 17. He ſays, the Emperour „ came, and pretended the ſe- „ cond to the Princeſs, and upon „ that he ſets down a large nego- „ tiation, that he had with Car- „ dinal *Wolſey*. Ibid.

But he shews here an Ignorance of *Charles* the 5th's Life, tho' he pretends to have made more than ordinary Discoveries concerning his Affairs, that proves, that he has studied all History alike ill. He reckons up the Series of the Propositions for the Princess quite wrong; for she was first contracted to the Dolphin the 9 *November* 1518, by a Treaty yet extant, then *Charles* the 5th came into *England* in Person, and contracted a Mariage with her at *Windsor* the 22 of *June* 1522; after that there was a Proposition made for the King of *Scotland*, that was soon let fall; and last of all there was a Treaty set on Foot, for the King of *France* then a Widdower, or for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*,

Orleans, it being left to *Francis's* option to determine that: and ſo remarkable a paſſage, as *Charles* the 5th's coming to *England* in perſon, was unhappily unknown to Mr. *Varillas*; otherwiſe he would have dreſſed up a mighty Scene of Politicks to adorn it.

„ 18. He gives us the chara- Ibid.
„ cter and the Hiſtory of Card.
„ *Wolſey*, with his ordinary co-
„ lours, in which truth comes
„ very ſeldome in for an ingre-
„ dient, he tells us how he was Bp.
„ of *Tourney*, or rather Oeconome
„ of that See, and how many
„ journeys he made between
„ *Tourney* and *London*; and that
„ he being enriched at *Tourney*,
„ he got the Biſhoprick of *Lin-*
„ *coln*, after that, upon the Bp. of
„ *Wincheſter's* death, he had that

„ See, from that he was raiſed „ to be Archbiſhop of *York*; then „ he was made Chancellour of „ *England*, then Cardinal and Le- „ gat *à Latere*, and laſt of all, he „ was made Chief Miniſter of „ State; and to ſhew our Author's „ deep Judgment, this laſt Article „ ſeemed ſo doubtful a Point to „ him, that he muſt needs beſtow „ a Proof on it, and he ſends „ us to P. *Leo* the 10th's Regiſter, „ tho' the advancements that he „ had already reckoned up, may „ well make this paſs without „ a more particular Proof; nor is „ P. *Leo*'s Regiſter a place likely „ to find it in.

Here is a great deal to let his Reader ſee, how intirely he was poſſeſſed with the Hiſtory of that time; ſince he could run out

out ſo far with the Character and Hiſtory of that Miniſter; but for the ſtrain, in which he ſets out his Character, one muſt ſee, it is only Mr. *Varillas's* fancy: for how came he to know Cardinal *Wolſey's* air and manner of deportment, even in the ſmalleſt thing. I that have ſeen much more of him in his Letters Diſpatches and Inſtructions than Mr. *Varillas* can pretend to have done, dare not go ſo far, becauſe I have not arrived at Mr. *Varillas* his pitch of Religion; but if his character is no truer than the Hiſtory that he gives of *Wolſey*, I know what name is due to it. He was made Biſhop of *Tournay* in *October*, and Bp. of *Lincoln* in the *March* thereafter, or rather in *February*, for the Temporalty

was

was given him the 4th of *March*, which is always restored after the Consecration, so that here was not time enough to make such journies between *Tournay* and *London*, nor to enrich himself with the former: he had *Winchester* but 15 years after that; but he was made Archbishop of *York* two year after he had *Lincoln*; he was also made Cardinal and Legate, before he was made Chancelour; for *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancelour while he was Legate, and had some disputes with him, touching his legative power; upon which he obtained that Dignity, for puting an end to all disputes; and instead of his being last of all Minister of State, he was first of all Minister of State,

while

while he was only the Lord *Almoner*, and all his other dignities came upon him, as the natural effects of that Confidence and favour into which the King had received him.

„ 19. He cannot aſſent to ſome „ Hiſtorians, that imagine, he „ was the Confident of K. *Henry's* „ Pleaſures, ſince he thinks, if that „ had been true, he could not „ have been ſo cheated after- „ wards, as he was. Ibid.

Here is a Demonſtration that he never read my Hiſtory, into which I have put, beſides other Evidences of his being on the ſecret of *Anne Boleyn's* matter, two letters, that ſhe writ to him, which are undeniable proofs of it. But as for the long Story into with he runs out, concerning

ning *Charles* the fifth's Intrigues with him, and his way of writing to him, in the ſtile of Son and Couſin, for which he cites on the Margent the Emperour's Letters to *Wolſey*, that lie in his fancy, that is the greateſt Library in the World, but the hardeſt to be come at, all this is ſo loſely writ, that it is plain Mr. *Varillas* had no light to direct him in it, ſince he ſays not a word of the moſt important circumſtance of it, which was the Emperour's coming in perſon to *England*, which was believed to have been done chiefly to gain *Wolſey* entirely, and in which it is certain, that he had all the ſucceſs that he had wiſht for.

P. 257. „ 20. He ſays, *Wolſey* being a-
„ lienated from the Emperour,
„ engaged

„ engaged the King of *France*, af-
„ ter he was ſet at liberty, to treat
„ for a Match between the Dau-
„ phin and the Princeſs of *En-*
„ *gland*, upon which they were
„ contracted with great Magni-
„ ficency; but that was not e-
„ nough, for the Cardinal's
„ malice.

I have formerly ſhewed, that the propoſition of a Mariage between the Dauphin and the Princeſs was in the year 1518, long before *Francis* the firſt's Impriſonment; but the Treaty ſet on foot after his Liberty, was either for himſelf, or his ſecond Son, and this ſort of a Treaty being ſomewhat extraordinary, where the alternative lay between the Father and the Son for the ſame Lady, *Mr. Varillas*

ſhews his great ignorance of the Affairs of that Time, ſince he ſays nothing of it; for this would have given him occaſion enough to have entertained his Reader
p. 258. with many Viſions and Speculations.

„ 21. He ſays, that *Wolſey* „ dealt with *Longland* the King's „ Confeſſour, to poſſeſs him „ with ſcruples concerning the „ lawfulneſs of his Mariage, that „ *Longland* refuſed to do it, but „ engaged *Wolſey* to begin, and „ he promiſed to fortify the ſcru- „ ples, that the Cardinal ſhould „ infuſe into the King's mind. „ Upon which the Cardinal did „ open the matter to the King, „ and the King being ſhaken by „ his Propoſition, laid the mat- „ ter before his Confeſſour,

„ who

„ who ſeconded the Cardinal.

In this he has taken the liberty to depart from *Sanders*, tho' he is the Author whom he generally copies; but it is eaſy to pretend to tell ſecrets, but not ſo eaſy to prove them. The King himſelf did afterwards in publick not only deny this, but affirmed that *Wolſey* had oppoſed his ſcruples all he could, and that he himſelf had opened them in Confeſſion to *Longland*, and the King himſelf ſaid to *Grineus*, that he was diſquieted with thoſe ſcruples ever from the year 1529, which was three years before the matter was made publick.

„ 22. He ſays, the King upon p. 259.
„ that conſulted the Divines of
„ *England*, concerning the valli-
„ dity of the Mariage, and that

„ all thoſe that were Men of pro-
„ bity and diſintereſſed, anſwe-
„ red in the affirmative; but ſome
„ that did aſpire, or that were
„ corrupted, thought it doubt-
„ ful, others, who were very
„ few in number, affirmed it was
„ unlawful.

This is ſo falſe, that all the Biſhops of *England*, *Fiſher* only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Mariage unlawful.

P. 260. „ 23. He gives a Character of
„ *Anne Boleyn*, in which he takes
„ up the common Reports of her
„ ill ſhape, her yellow colour,
„ her gag tooth, her Lump un-
„ der her chin, and her hand
„ with ſix fingers: but becauſe
„ all this agrees ill to the Miſtreſs
„ of a King, he, to ſoften that
„ adds

„ adds a long Character of her „ Wit, her Air and Humour, in „ which he lays her charms, and „ here he takes all the licences of „ a Poet, as well as of a Painter.

But as ſeveral of her Pictures, yet extant, ſhew the folly of thoſe Stories, concerning her Deformity, ſo the other particulars of this Picture are for the moſt part fetcht out of that Repoſitory of falſe Hiſtory, that lies in Mr. *Varillas's* Imagination.

„ 24. He ſays, the Engliſh *Ibid.* „ Hiſtorians, and ſome other Ca- „ tholicks, agree to thoſe things, „ and for his Vouchers he cites „ on the Margent, *Sanders*, *Re-* „ *badeneira* and *Remon*; but they „ add many other particulars, „ tho' they differ concerning „ them, and tho' he will not af-

„ firm them to be true: yet he
„ thinks it worth the while to ſet
„ them down. They ſay, that
„ *Anne Boleyn's* true Father was
„ not known: that ſhe was born
„ in *England*, while he was Am-
„ baſſador in *France*: that *Henry*
„ the 8th, being in love with the
„ Mother, had ſent away her
„ Husband, that ſo he might ſa-
„ tisfy his Appetites more freely,
„ but that he ſoon quited the Mo-
„ ther for her eldeſt Daughter
„ *Mary*: that Sr. *Thomas Boleyn*
„ at his return to *England*, finding
„ his Wife with Child, begun a
" Sute againſt her, but that the
„ King forced him to be reconci-
„ led to his Wife, and to own the
„ Child that ſhe bore ſome time
„ after, who was *Anne Boleyn*:
„ that this Daughter at the Age

„ of

„ of 15, was diſhonoured by two „ of her Father's Domeſticks, „ upon which ſhe was ſent to „ *France*, where ſhe was ſo com- „ mon a Proſtitute, that ſhe went „ by the Name of the Engliſh „ Hackney: that ſhe was a com- „ mon ſubject of Raillery: that „ ſhe became a Lutheran, tho' „ ſhe made ſtill profeſſion of the „ other Religion. He ſays, others „ make her paſs for a Heroine, „ that cannot be enough com- „ mended, yet he acknowledges „ there are not Authentical Evi- „ dences left, to diſcover their „ impoſture.

Here is a way of writing, that agrees well with Mr. *Varillas's* other Qualities: he was here in a cold fit, and ſo his Religion did not operate ſo ſtrong, as to diſ-

engage him quite from all regard to Truth, only it produces one ſtart, that is ſufficiently extravagant, for he accuſes all that is ſaid in favours of *Anne Boleyn* of impoſture, tho' at the ſame time he acknowledges, there are not Authentick Evidences to diſprove it; but how then came he to know that thoſe Commendations were Impoſtures? He anſwers, that in the beginning of this Paragraph, and cites in general the Hiſtorians of *England* and other Catholick Writers: and for the Hiſtorians of *England* he gives us *Sanders* alone, tho' he can hardly make a a plural out of him, unleſs he ſplits him into three or four ſubdiviſions, as he had done *Charles* the 5th. when he reckoned up the Emperour and

and the King of *Spain* as two of the Pretenders to the Princeſs *Mary*. But tho' I have in my Hiſtory demonſtrated the falſehood of all this Legend ſo evidently, that I had perhaps wearied my Reader, by proving that too copiouſly, yet ſince I ſee that nature can croud ſo much impudence in *Mr. Varillas* alone, as might ſerve even the whole Order of the Jeſuites, and that he is reſolved to keep up the credit of the blackeſt falſehoods, as the Church of *Rome* preſerves ſtill in her Breviary a great many Leſſons with Prayers and Anthems, relating to them, that are now by the conſent of learned Men exploded as Fables, I muſt again lay open this matter, tho' I thought I had ſo fully confuted

thoſe

those Lies, that even a Pension could not have engaged a Man to support them any more.

It may seem enough to an impartial Mind, that *Sanders* was the first, that ever published those Stories, above 50 years after *Anne Boleyn's* Death: that tho' Card. *Pool*, and the other Writers of that Time, had left nothing unsaid, that could blacken K. *Henry*; yet none of them had brow enough to assert *Sanders's* Fictions: and that after *Anne Boleyn's* Tragical Fall, when her Misfortunes had made it a fashionable thing to blacken her, yet these impostures were reserved for *Sanders*, and for an Age, in which he and many others of his Church were setting on many Rebellions and Con-

Conſpiracies againſt Q. *Eliſabeth*, they were ſo powerfully acted by Mr. *Varillas's* Spirit of Religion, tho' they had not the folly to own it, as he has done, as to give themſelves the liberty to ſay the fouleſt things againſt the Mother, without giving themſelves the trouble to enquire, whether they were true or falſe: and the things here advanced are of ſuch a nature, that either they muſt be evidently true, or they are notoriouſly falſe; for an Embaſſy into *France* of ſuch a continuance, a Sute moved upon Sr. *Tho. Boleyn's* return, were publick matters, and muſt have lien open to a diſcovery. The whole Recital is impoſſible, as it is told; for if ſhe was born after Sr. *Tho. Boleyn* return'd from an Embaſſy, to which

which King *Henry* had ſent him, that he might enjoy his Wife, and in which he ſtaid two years, as *Sanders* ſays; then ſince King *Henry* came to the Crown in the year 1509, ſhe muſt be born in the year 1511, and then the 15th year of her Age will fall in the year 1526, and it being certain that the King began to court her in the year 1527, here is not time enough for her Leudneſs and her long ſtay in *France*. But it is certain that ſhe was born in the year 1507, two years before K. *Henry* came to the Crown, and when he was but 14 years old, and that at 7 years old ſhe went over to *France* with K. *Henry's* Siſter, when ſhe was married to *Lewis* the 12th; and tho' upon that King's Death the Queen Dowa-

Dowager of *France* came ſoon after back into *England*, yet *Anne Boleyn* ſtaid ſtill in *France*, and was in the ſervice of *Claud Francis's* the firſt's Queen, and after her Death the King's Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Alencon*, took her into her ſervice, and theſe two Princeſſes were ſo celebrated for their Vertue, that this alone is enough to ſhew, that ſhe was then under no infamy, ſince ſhe was of their Family. She was alſo Maid of Honour to our Queen *Katherine*, who, even by *Mr. Varillas's* Character, was of too ſevere a Vertue to admit a common Proſtitute to that degree of Honour. So that here is more than enough to diſcredit all thoſe Calumnies.

„ 25. He ſays, tho' there is not p. 261.

„ Evidence enough in the former „ Reports, yet there is a certain „ Proof for K. *Henry*'s diſorders „ with the Elder of the two Siſ- „ ters *Mary Boleyn*, ſince in the „ demand, that K. *Henry* made „ for a Permiſſion to marry *Anne*, „ he confeſſed his diſorders with „ her Siſter, and offered to do „ Pennance for them: and to „ vouch for this, he cites King „ *Henry*'s Petition to P. *Clement* „ the 7th.

Here Mr. *Varillas* ſhews, how little he underſtands the advantages that he has, to maintain his Aſſertions, ſince there is an Authority for this laſt, that has more appearance of Truth in it, than all his other Citations put together, tho' his Ignorance made him incapable of finding it out.

For

For Cardinal *Pool*, in his Book againſt K. *Henry*, objects this to him, and this has a fair appearance: whereas the Petition, that he cites, is a Dream of his own, that was never before heard of. But tho' I have ſaid more for the honour of Cardinal *Pool*, than all the Panegiricks that have been given him, amount to, yet I am very well aſſured, that in this particular he was abuſed by Reports, to which he gave too eaſy a Belief: for as all the original Inſtructions and Diſpatches, that were made upon that Affair, are yet extant, in which there is not one Word relating to this matter: ſo it is plain, that the Affair was never ſo far advanced, as to demand a Permiſſion for a ſecond Mariage,

ſince that could never be ſo much as asked, till the firſt was diſſolved, and that not being gained, there was not room made for it. If the King had given ſuch advantages againſt himſelf, as to have put ſuch a Confeſſion in a Petition to the Pope, is it to be imagined, that the Popes would not have diſcovered this in ſome Authentical manner, and even have put it in the Thundering Bull, that was afterwards publiſhed againſt him; for this alone proved his Hypocriſy of pretending Scruples of Conſcience at his Mariage beyond Exception; and if the King acted in this matter without any regard to Conſcience, it is unreaſonable to repreſent him as ſo ſtrictly Conſcientious, and that he would have

have confeſſed ſo ſcandalous a ſecret, and ſo to have put himſelf in the power of thoſe, of whom he could not be well aſſured.

„ 26. He gives us a long account of *Wolſey's* deſign, to engage the King to marry the „ Dutcheſs of *Alencon*. Of the „ Biſhop of *Tarke's* being ſent over „ to bring the Engliſh Princeſs into *France*, upon her being contracted to the Dauphin. And „ of *Wolſey's* prevailing with him, „ to let that Propoſition fall, and „ to ſet on another, for a Mariage „ between the King of *England* „ and the Dutcheſs of *Alencon*. „ And that the Bp. of *Tarke* was „ cheated by *Wolſey*; and being „ in the intereſts of the Dutcheſs „ of *Alencon*, he demanded a „ publick Audience of the King, p. 263. &c.

„ in the preſence of the Council, „ in which he employed all his „ Eloquence to perſuade him to „ divorce his Queen, and to „ marry the moſt Chriſtian „ Kings Siſter.

In all this matter Mr. *Varillas* is only the Copier of *Sanders*, yet he cannot tell another Man's Lie, without mixing ſome additions of his own; for the Bp. of *Tarke's* being ſent over, to demand the Princeſs, is one of the fruits of his own Religion. But tho' a Pedant of a Prieſt, ſuch as *Sanders*, had told ſo improbable a Story; yet it ill became a Man, that pretends to know Courts, and the Negotiations of Ambaſſadours, as Mr. *Varillas* does, to aſſert ſuch improbabilities, as that an Ambaſſadour ſent expreſs to demand

a

a Princeſs for his Maſters *Son*, which was the greateſt advantage that *France* could have poſſibly hoped for, ſhould be ſo far wrought on by the Miniſter of the Court, to which he was ſent, as not only to let all this fall; but to make a new Propoſition for the illegitimating of the young Princeſs, and for offering his maſter's Siſter to King *Henry*, and all this without any Inſtructions from his maſter, and thereby expoſing the Dutcheſs of *Alencon* to the ſcorn of being rejected, after ſhe was ſo publickly offered to the King of *England*, tho' every Body knows, that the firſt offers of Princeſſes are made in ſecret. And after all this, that the Biſhop of *Tarke*, who not only exceeded his Inſtructions, but acted

contrary to them in so important a matter, was neither recalled, nor disgraced; but on the contrary, he was afterwards promoted to be a Cardinal by the recommendation of the Court of *France*; and he being a Cardinal, and seeing afterwards how he was abused, if we may believe this Fable, is it to be supposed, that he, either out of his own Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, or by the Accusations that naturally such a Proposition, begun by him, must have brought on him, would not have told all this secret afterwards? In short, as this Relation contains many particulars in it, that are not according to the Forms of our Court, such as his demanding an Audience in the presence of the Coun-

Council (for it ſeems, as Mr. *Varillas* ſet our Parliaments above our Kings, he will make the Privy Council equal to them) ſo the whole is ſo contrary to all the Methods of Ambaſſadours, that this would ſcarce paſs, if it related to the tranſactions of the Courts of *China* or *Japan*; but it is ſo groſs an impoſition on ſuch as know the Methods of the Courts of *Europe*, that Mr. *Varillas* preſumed too much on the credulity of his Readers, when he thought that this could be believ'd: and *ſi non è vero, il è ben trovato*, is ſo neceſſary a Character for a Man to maintain, that would have his Books ſell well, which I am told is *Mr. Varillas's* chief Deſign, that he had beſt find out ſome Judge of his Pie-

Pieces, that has a true Understanding, since it is plain, that he has not sence enough himself to make a right Judgment in such matters.

p. 266. „ 27. He says, when Cardi-
„ nal *Wolsey* went over into *France*,
„ he carried a Commission to con-
„ sult the Universities of *France*,
„ touching the King's Divorce;
„ but that the change of Affairs
„ in *Italy*, made the King to re-
„ cal him; who was strangely
„ surprised, when he found that
„ the King had no thoughts of
„ marrying the Dutchess of *Alen-*
„ *con*, and that he was become
„ so much in love with *Anne Bo-*
„ *leyn*, that he was resolved to
„ mary her on any Terms.

It is an unfortunate thing for a Man, to have heard too much,

and

and to have read too little of Hiſtory: for as the one gives him much confidence, ſo the other expoſes him to many Errours. Mr. *Varillas* had heard, that K. *Henry* had conſulted many Univerſities; but not knowing where to place this, he fancied, that it muſt be the firſt ſtep in the whole Matter. But he knew not, that this was not thought on, till after a Sute of above two Years continuance; in which the King ſaw, how he was deluded by the Court of *Rome*; and upon that, he took the other Method of conſulting the Univerſities. All his ſpeculations concerning Card. *Wolſey*, are built on the common Miſtake, that ſuppoſes him ignorant of the King's intentions for *Anne Boleyn*, the falſe-

hood

hood of which I have ſufficiently demonſtrated.

p. 278. „ 28. He tells us, that Card. „ *Wolſey* having once ſeveral Bi- „ ſhops to dine with them, the „ King knowing of it, went to „ them after Dinner, and made „ a Writing to be read to them, „ that ſet forth the Reaſons „ againſt his Mariage: the Bi- „ ſhops did not approve it quite; „ yet they were ſo complying, as „ to ſay, that if thoſe things were „ true, his ſcruples were well „ grounded.

This was too important a thing, not be made appear probable by ſome of his pretended Vouchers, tho' it is moſt certainly falſe; for a Reſolution, ſigned by all the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher*, was produced before

fore the Legates, to ſhew how well the King's ſcruples were grounded.

„ 29. He ſays the Privy Coun- Ibid.
„ cel acted more ſteadily, and in-
„ tended to give the King an un-
„ deniable proof of his Miſtreſſes
„ Lewdneſs, for Sr. *Thomas Wiat*,
„ that had obtained of her the laſt
„ favours, was willing to let the
„ King know it; and ſo being of
„ the Privy Councel, he not only
„ owned the matter to the reſt of
„ that Board, but was content
„ to let the King know it; and
„ when he found that the King
„ would not believe it, he offe-
„ red to make the King himſelf
„ an Eye-witneſs to their Priva-
„ cies; but tho' the Duke of *Suf-*
„ *folk* made this bold Propoſition
„ to the King, he was ſo far from

„ hearkning to it, that *Wiat* was „ disgraced upon it, and by this „ means the Mistress was covered „ from such dangerous Discove- „ ries for the future.

Such a Story as this might have passed from a *Sanders*, that knew the World little, but in earnest, it seems the fits of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion are strong even to Extasy, since they make him write as extravagantly of humane Affairs, as if he had passed his whole Life in a Desert. A Man that knows what humane Nature is, cannot think that *Wiat* would have either so far betraied Mrs. *Boleyn*, or exposed himself, as to have made such a Discovery; it being more natural for a Man, that was assured of a young Lady's Favour, to contribute

bute to her Elevation, ſince that muſt have raiſed himſelf, than to contrive her ruin. And K. *Henry*, whoſe imperious temper gave him a particular Diſpoſition to Jealouſy, muſt have been of a different compoſition from all the reſt of Mankind, if he could have rejected a Diſcovery of this nature. And when the ſecrets of Jealouſies are opened to Princes, it is too groſs, even for a Romance, to make the Diſcoverer to begin with the Councel-board, and to procure a Deputation from them to acquaint the King with them. But as *Wiat* does not appear to have been a Privy Councelour, till near the end of K. *Henry*'s Reign; ſo it is plain enough, he was never diſgraced, but continued to be ſtill

imploied by the King in ſome forreign Embaſſies, to the end of his Life.

p. 269, & 270. „30. He ſays, *Anne Boleyn* „endeavoured, tho' in vain, to „engage Sr. *Thomas More* to negotiate her Affair: but he being „proof againſt all corruption, „*Gardiner*, that was a Canoniſt, „was made Secretary of State, „and was ſent to *Rome* with my „Lord *Brian*, who ſcandaliſed „all *Rome* with his lewd behaviour; and had the impudence „to aſſure the Pope, that the „Queen deſired to be divorced, „that ſo ſhe might retire into a „Monaſtery. And made other „offers of great advantage to the „Pope, in caſe he would allow „the Divorce.

Mr. *Varillas* cannot ſay too much

much in Sr. *Thomas More's* commendation: but ſince he was a Man of ſo much Sincerity, it is certain, that he approved of the Divorce: for in a Letter, that his own Family printed among his other Works, in Q. *Mary's* Reign, he, writing to *Cromwel*, owns, that he had approved of the Divorce, and that he had great hopes of the King's ſucceſs in it, as long as it was proſecuted in the Court of *Rome*, and founded on the defects that were pretended to be in the Bull; and after that moſt of the Univerſities and of the learned Men of *Europe* had given their Opinions in favour of the Divorce, four years after it was firſt moved, he being then Chancellour, went down to the Houſe of Commons

and made those Decisions to be read there, and upon that he desired the Members of Parliament to report in their Countries, that which they had heard and seen; and added these very Words, *and then all Men will openly perceive, that the King has not attempted this Matter for his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience.* Upon *Wolsey's* Disgrace, he was made Chancellour, and continued in that high trust almost three years; which is an evident sign that he did not then oppose the Divorce; nor did he grow disgusted of the Court, till he saw that the King was upon the point of breaking with the See of *Rome.* So that he would have liked the Divorce, if the Pope could have been prevailed

vailed with to allow it; but he did not approve of the King's procuring it another way. Mr. *Varillas* is no happier in the other parts of this Article: for *Gardiner* was not ſent firſt to *Rome*, to negotiate this matter. *Knight* that was Secretary of State, was firſt imploied; and *Gardiner* was not made Secretary of State, till near the end of this Negotiation: nor was he ever ſent to *Rome* with *Brian*: nor was *Brian* a Lord, but only a Knight; and it was a year after this Sute was firſt begun, before *Brian* was imploied in it; ſo that he could carry no ſuch deluding Meſſage to the Pope, concerning the Queen's deſiring the Divorce, And for this pretenſion of the Queen's deſiring to retire to a Monaſtery, it was never

made use of by the English Ambassadours. It was on the contrary a notion of the Pope's, who thought, that if that could be put in her Head, it would be the easiest Method of getting out of this uneasie matter: and therefore he ordered his Legate Card. *Campegio* to advise the Queen to it. And for the scandals of *Brian's* Life, they must have been very great, if they gave offence at *Rome* at that time: but as I can not answer much for *Brian*, so I will not trouble my self to vindicate him; but he could not behave him more indecently at *Rome* than *Campegio* did in *England*, when he came over Legate, who scandalised even the Court with his lewd behaviour.

P. 272. „ 31. He says, the Pope was „ sen-

„ ſenſible of his obligations to the
„ King, and reſolved to do all he
„ could to gratify him, and ſo or-
„ dered *Cajetan* to examine the
„ matter, who did it in his man-
„ ner after the Method of the
„ Schools. And here he gives us
„ an abſtract of his Book. He laid
„ this down for a Maxime, that
„ the High Prieſt under the N.
„ Teſtament had no leſs Autho-
„ rity, than the High Prieſt had
„ under the Law of *Moſes*, who
„ had power to allow of ſuch
„ Mariages, to good ends and in
„ good Circumſtances; and that
„ the end of this Mariage was no-
„ ble: that the Crowns of *En-*
„ *gland* and *Spain* being united,
„ might ſend their Fleets to block
„ up *Conſtantinople*. And that by
„ this Mariage, as *Italy* was to be
„ ſet

„ ſet at Peace, ſo K. *Henry* was
„ diverted from marrying into
„ Families ſuſpect of Hereſy: and
„ that therefore the Pope could
„ not grant a Diſpenſation for an-
„ nulling it. And with his uſual
„ Confidence he cites on the
„ Margent *Cajetan's* Conſultation.
„ And this, he ſays, confirmed
„ the Pope in his Reſolution, not
„ to grant the Diſpenſation for
„ breaking the Mariage upon any
„ Terms whatſoever.

I have given ſuch Authentick Demonſtrations of the Falſehood of this Particular, that I am ſure the ſtrongeſt Fit of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion cannot reſiſt them. For the Pope, upon the firſt Propoſition, franckly granted the Diſpenſation, and only conſulted with ſome Cardinals about the Me-

Methods of doing it; and afterwards he ſent one over to *England*, and promiſed, that he would do, not only all that he could grant either in Law or Juſtice; but every thing elſe that he could grant out of that plenitude of Power, with which he was veſted in the King's favour. The Pope alſo propoſed a Method, that perhaps would have brought the matter to an eaſier iſſue, which was, that if the King was ſatisfied in his own Conſcience concerning the Divorce, in which he did not think that there was a Doctor in the whole World, that could judg ſo well as himſelf, then he might put away his Queen, and marry another, and then the Pope would confirm all. For the craf-

ty

ty Pope thought, it would be easier for him to confirm it, when it was once done, than to give Authority to do it: and in short, the Pope made the King still believe, that he would do it, till by that means he brought the Emperour to grant him all he desired. And as for *Cajetan's* opinion, I am now in a Countrey where I cannot find his Works, so I cannot be so positive in this matter; but as far as my Memory serves me, *Cajetan* writ nothing with relation to this matter: but only in the body of his School-Divinity, that he had published long before this Sute began, he had set on foot a new Opinion touching the Prohibitions of marrying in near Degrees, which the Church by a con-

conſtant Tradition had in all Times lookt on as Mortal Laws; whereas he aſſerted, they were only Poſitive Precepts, that did not bind under the Chriſtian Religion, and by conſequence, that there was no Law now againſt Mariages in thoſe Degrees, but the Law of the Church, with which the Pope might diſpenſe. In all the Books that I have ſeen, that were writ for the Queen's Cauſe, *Cajetan*'s Authority is brought, as a thing already abroad in the World, and not as a Conſultation writ upon this Occaſion: and by what I remember of that Cardinal's Life, it is ſaid, that in his reaſonings with *Luther* he had found himſelf ſo defective in the knowledg of the Scripture, that whereas

formerly he had given himself wholly to the Study of School-Divinity, he after that gave himself entirely to the Study of the Scripture, in which, making allowance for his Ignorance of the Original Tongues, he succeeded to admiration. But tho' I cannot procure a Sight of his Treatise concerning the Degrees of Mariage, the Idea that I retain of his solid way of writing, makes me conclude, that he was not capable of writing in so trifling a manner, as Mr. *Varillas* represents the Matter. For what Mau of sense could say, that the Highpriest under the Jewish Religion could dispense with a Brother's marrying his Brother's Widdow, in some cases: in case that a Brother died without Chil-

Children, his Brother, or the next of Kin, might have married the Widdow, by the Dispensation that the Law gave, and not by a Dispensation of the Highpriest. And for the Ends that he pretends of those two Princes, going to block up *Constantinople* with their Fleets, a man must be ignorant in History to the Degree of *Mr. Varillas*, to imagine this, since as the Kings of those Times had no Royal Fleets, but were forced to hire Merchant Vessels, when they had occasion for them; so the blocking up of *Constantinople* was too bold a project for those Days, and does not seem to have been so much as once thought on. And for the other Ends that he mentions, tho' the procuring such a

Peace to *Italy*, as was for the Intereſt of the Popes, was a thing for which they would have ſacrificed any thing; yet this differs much from P. *Julius* the ſecond's Character, who granted the Diſpenſation, ſince his whole Reign was a continued Imbroilment of *Italy*. Nor does it appear that K. *Henry*'s Mariage could have any influence on the Peace of *Italy*, unleſs it were very remote. And as for the other Reaſon alledged for the Mariage, that it diverted K. *Henry* from marrying into Families ſuſpect of Hereſy, this is to great a violation of the *Cuſtume*; for it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* had the preſent State of *Europe* in his Head, when he writ it: but *Cajetan* could not wite this, for in the Year 1503. there

there were no Families in *Europe* ſuſpect of Hereſy: ſo that all this reaſoning, that is here entitled to *Cajetan*, is a maſs of Mr. *Varillas*'s crude Imaginations, which do equally diſcover both his Ignorance, and his want of Judgment.

„ 32. He accuſes Mr. *Beaucaire*, for ſaying a thing, that „ was no way probable, when „ he affirms, that Card. *Campegio* carried over to *England* a „ Bull annulling the marriage, „ which he was allowed to ſhew „ both to the King and to Card. „ *Wolſey*, but that this was only „ an artifice to procure him the „ more credit for drawing out „ the Proceſs into a great length. P. 274.

But when a Writer rejects what he finds affirmed by another,

ther, that lived in the Time concerning which he writs, he ought at least to give some reasons to justify his being of another mind; since it is a little too bold for any Man, of a temper more modest than that of *Mr. Varillas*, to deny a matter of fact, meerly because he thinks it is no way probable: but it is not only probable, but evidently true, as I have made it appear beyond all possibility of contradiction: for after that *Campegio* had, according to his Instructions, shewed the Bull, both to the King and to *Wolsey*, great endeavours were used at *Rome* to procure an order for his shewing it to some of the King's Ministers; but the Pope could not be prevailed on so far: and I have printed an Original Let-

Letter of *John Caſtalis*, that contains a long conference that he had with the Pope on this head; by which it appears, that the only conſideration that the Pope had before his Eyes in this whole matter, was the Emperour's Greatneſs, and his Fears of being ruined, if he had made any further ſteps in that Affair.

„ 33. He ſays, that the Queen *p.* 277.
„ having thrown her ſelf at the
„ King's Feet, and made a very
„ moving Speech, the King was
„ ſo far melted with it, that he
„ ſaid, he was contented to refer
„ the matter to be judged by the
„ Pope in Perſon, upon which
„ ſhe went out inſtantly, that ſo
„ the King might not have time
„ to recal that, which perhaps
„ he had ſaid a little too ſuddenly:

„ and that she always claimed „ this Promise, tho' the King had „ no regard to it.

Here is a new Fit of his Religion, for it seems *Sanders* felt not those vigorous motions, that were necessary to furnish out his Scenes: and therefore, tho' Mr. *Varillas* adds no Discovery as to matters of fact, beyond what *Sanders* had made, yet he has the more copious Inventions of the two. But he does not place his contrivances judiciously, for it is much safer to dress up the secrets of the Cabinet, than publick Courts of Judicature with such garnishings: and as that was the most solemn Trial, that ever *England* saw, in which a King and Queen appeared as Delinquents, to be tried for Incest,

ceſſ, ſo the matter is not only particularly related by thoſe that lived in that Time, or ſoon after it, but the Journals of the Court are yet in being, and by all theſe it appears, that as ſoon as the Queen made that moving Speech, ſhe immediately riſe and went out, without ſtaying for one Word of Anſwer. And in all that long Sute that followed afterwards, for obliging the King to carry on the Sute at *Rome*, that depended for three years, this offer of the King's, if it had any other being but that which Mr. *Varilla's* Fiction gives it, would have been certainly alledged, for obliging the King to continue the Proceſs at *Rome*; but it was never ſo much as mentioned, ſo the honour of it belongs to Mr. *Varillas*.

„ 34. He

Ibid. „ 34. He says, that in the „ Process, as the King's Advo- „ cates produced a Letter, that „ Card. *Hadrian* had writ at the „ time of the granting the Bull „ for the Mariage, that he had „ heard P. *Julius* the second say, „ that he could not grant it, the „ Queens's Advocates produced „ likewise a Letter of Pope *Julius* „ to the King of *England*, that as- „ sured him, that tho' he had not „ granted the Bull as soon as it „ was demanded, that was not „ out of any intention to refuse it; „ but that he had only waited for „ a favourable conjuncture, that „ so he might doe it the more de- „ liberatly.

This is of no consequence; but some Men get into ill habits, that engage them, even when there

there is no advantage to tell Lies. The whole Journals of this Sute mention neither the one nor the other of theſe matters: there is ſomewhat like the ſecond, of which ſome, it ſeems, had in diſcourſe given *Mr. Varillas* a dark Hint, and he reſolved to garniſh it up the beſt he could. There was a Breve of P. *Julius's* produced, but not writ to the King of *England*, for it was addreſſed to the Kings of *Spain*, and was indeed believed to be forged in *Spain*. It was conceived in the very Words of the Bull for the Mariage, and was of the ſame date, and the only difference between it and the Bull was, that whereas the Bull mentioned the Queen's Mariage with P. *Arthur*, as having been perhaps con-

consummated, this spoke of the consummation of that Mariage less doubtfully, and without a *perhaps*: and the inference that was made upon this was, that the Spaniards foreseeing that the consummation of P. *Arthur's* Mariage would be proved, had forged this Breve, to make it appear, that the Pope was informed of that as of a thing certain, tho' it was decent in the publick Bull to mention it doubtfully. But Mr. *Varillas* shews how dangerous a thing it was to write History upon flying Reports, helped up a little with the dull Invention of an ill Poet.

p. 278. „ 35. He runs out into a high „ commendation of the Zeal and „ Fidelity that some of the En- „ glish Bishops, who were na- „ med

„ med to be the Queen's Advo-
„ cates, ſhewed in pleading her
„ Cauſe.

But in this he ſhews, how little he underſtands the common forms of Law: for ſince the Queen declin'd the Court, and appealed to the Pope, there was no more occaſion given to her Advocates, to ſpeak to the merits of her Cauſe. And whereas he pretends, that this was done, not only by Bp. *Fiſher*, but by the Biſhops of *London*, *Bath* and *Ely*, that was impoſſible, ſince all the Biſhops had ſigned a Writing, which was produced before the Legates, in which they all declared themſelves againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Mariage.

„ 36. He ſays, the Pope re-

„ called the Cauſe, to be heard „ before himſelf, on this pre- „ tence, that the King had by „ Word of Mouth conſented to „ it.

This is a ſlight of our Author's, to colour that ſhameful ſecret: for when the Emperour had agreed to put *Florence* into the hands of the *Medici*, the Pope who had ſeemed to favour the King's cauſe till that time, did then admit of the Queen's Appeal: and tho' he had ſigned a formal Promiſe, never to recal the Cauſe, yet he being as little a Slave to his Word, as Mr. *Varillas* is to Truth, broke his faith. But he never ſo much as once pretended this conſent of the King's.

Ibid. „ 37. He ſays, *Wolſey* being „ diſ-

„ disgraced, was sent to *York*, „ where he languished some „ time, being reduced almost to „ Beggary.

This comes in as a dash of his Pen, to set out K. *Henry's* Severity: but one of *Wolsey's* Domesticks, that writ his Life, tells us, in how great State he went to *York*, with a Train of 160 Horse, and an Equipage of 72 Carts following him with his Houshold-stuf; for the King restored him not only his Archbishoprick of *York*, but also his Bishoprick of *Wincheſter*, which Mr. *Varillas* fancies he took from him: and it was impossible for a Man, that had those two great Benefices, to be reduced to any degrees of Want.

„ 38. He says; *Anne Boleyn* p. 281.

„ raiſed *Cranmer* to the Dignity „ of chief Miniſter of State, who „ was one of the profligateſt Men „ of *England*, that had nothing „ of Chriſtianity in him, but the „ outward appearances, being „ ambitious, voluptuous, bold, „ turbulent and capable of all „ ſorts of Intrigues. He had ſtu- „ died long in *Germany*, where „ he was infected with Luthera- „ niſme, tho' he did not outward- „ ly profeſs it. He took a Concu- „ bine in *Germany*, whom he af- „ terwards married by the King's „ permiſſion. He had been Chap- „ lain long in the Family of Bo- „ *leyn*, ſo when the See of *Can-* „ *terbury* fell vacant, *Anne Boleyn* „ preſented him.

The Fit here is extream hot and long, and ſhews, how entirely

tirely Mr. *Varillas* was ſubdued by it, ſince it is hardly poſſible for a Man to ſpit out more Venome and Falſehood at once. *Cranmer* was never in the Affairs of State, much leſs chief Miniſter. And any Ignorance leſs than Mr. *Varillas's* would have found, that *Cromwel* ſucceeded *Wolſey* in the Miniſtry. As for *Cranmers* Ambition, as he had paſſed the greateſt part of his Life in a ſecret Retirement, ſo he was in *Germany* when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, and when he underſtood that the King intended to raiſe him to that Dignity, he excuſed himſelf all he could, and delaied his Return to *England* ſome Months, that ſo the King might have time given him to change his Mind. He was ſo far from

being turbulent and hardy, and from being a Man of Intrigues, that his plain Simplicity made him to be despised by his Enemies, till they found that there was a wise Conduct under all that Mildness and Slowness. And it was this simplicity, and his keeping himself out of all Intrigues, that preserved him in K. *Henry's* esteem. He never went to study in *Germany*, but was sent into *Italy*, and *Germany* to reason with the learned Men in the Universities concerning the King's Divorce. He married a Wife in *Germany*, and was so far from obtaining the King's Permission to marry her, that upon a severe Law, that was afterwards made against the Mariage of the Clergy, he sent her into *Germany* for some

ſome time, yet he franckly owned his Mariage to the King, when he queſtioned him upon it, and there was never the leaſt imputation laid upon his Chaſtity, except this of his Mariage, which we think none at all, He was never Chaplain in the *Boleyn* Family, but lived private in *Cambridg*, when the King came to hear of him, and to imploy him in the proſecution of the Divorce. And ſo far was he from being preſented by *Anne Boleyn*, upon the Vacancy of *Canterbury*, that he was then in *Germany*. And now it appears what a ſecret Mr. *Varillas* has, of making as much Falſehood go into one Period, as would ſerve another to ſcatter upon and down a whole Book; but we know the Society

that has this ſecret, and it is certain, that Mr *Varillas* has learnt it to perfection.

Ibid. „ 39. He ſays, the King ac-
„ cepted *Cranmer* upon condi-
„ tion, that he would pronounce
„ the Sentence of Divorce be-
„ tween their Majeſties of *En-*
„ *gland*, in caſe that the Pope ra-
„ tified their conteſted Mariage:
„ and thus by a way ſo uncanoni-
„ cal he was made Archbiſhop of
„ *Canterbury*.

There was no occaſion of demanding any ſuch Promiſe of *Cranmer*, for he had openly declared his opinion, that the Mariage was inceſtuous and unlawful, ſo that his Judgment was already known. But Mr. *Varillas* ſhews how little he knew our matters; when he ſays, that *Cran-*

Cranmer was made Archbiſhop in an uncanonical way; for as he was choſen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*, ſo he had his Bull from *Rome*, and how little ſoever, this is Canonical according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, yet Mr. *Varillas* has no reaſon to except to the Uncanonicalneſs of it.

„ 40. He ſays, he was inſtal- Ibid.
„ led by another Artifice, for be-
„ ing required to ſwear the Oath
„ to the Pope, he had a Notary
„ by him, who atteſted, that he
„ took his Oath againſt his Will,
„ and that he would not keep it
„ to the prejudice of the King.

He made no Proteſtation, that he took that Oath againſt his Will; but he repeated a Proteſtation twice at the high Altar, that

that he intended not by that Oath to the Pope, to oblige himself to any thing that was contrary to the Law of God, to the King's Prerogative, or to the Laws of the Land, nor to be restrained by it from proposing or consenting to any thing, that might concern the Reformation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, or the Prerogatives of the King and Kingdome. This is a different thing from protesting, that he took the Oath against his Will, which as it had been ridiculous in it self, so was very far contrary to that native Singleness of Heart, in which he always acted.

P. 282. „ 41. He says, there was an „ ancient Law against the Sub-

„ jects

„ jects of *England's* acknowledg-
„ ing a forreign Juriſdiction, upon
„ which the King raiſed a Sute
„ againſt his Clergy, for owning
„ the Pope's Juriſdiction, in that
„ which was a mixt Court, rela-
„ ting both to the Temporal and
„ the Spiritual. And he adds,
„ that the Clergy had an eaſy An-
„ ſwer to this Charge, ſince that
„ Law had no regard to the Spi-
„ ritual Authority.

Matters of Law are things of too delicate a nature for ſo ſlight a Man as Mr. *Varillas* to look into them. He repreſents this as one ſingle Law, that was very old, and that related only to Temporals, whereas if he had known any thing of our Laws, he would have ſeen, that there was a vaſt number of Laws made in the

Reigns

Reigns of many of our Kings, ſuch as *Edward* the firſt, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the ſecond, *Henry* the 4th, and *Henry* the 5th, all relating to this matter, and theſe Laws were made in expreſs Words againſt all that brought Bulls and Proviſions from *Rome* to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.

Ibid. „ 42. He ſays, the motions of „ the Clergy in their own de- „ fence, could not but be feeble, „ ſince they had two ſuch trea- „ cherous Heads, as *Cranmer* „ Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and „ *Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, ſo they „ made a ſubmiſſion to the King, „ but he would not receive it, un- „ leſs they would acknowledg, „ that he had the ſame Authority „ over the Eccleſiaſtical Body, „ that

" that he had over his other Sub-
" jects: and thus, without think-
" ing on what they did, they
" furniſhed the King with a pre-
" tence of calling himſelf, Head
" of the Church of *England*.

Cranmer was ſo little concer-ned in this matter, that it was paſt two Years before he was Archbiſhop, while *Warham* was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; for the Submiſſion was made in *March* 1531, and he was con-ſecrated in *March* 1533. And *Lee* of *York* was ſo far from con-ſenting to it, that he ſtrugled long againſt it, after *Warham* and his Synode had paſt it. And whereas he pretends, that the King drew his Pretence, to be Head of the Church of *England*, fro[illegible] general acknowledment

that they had made of the King's Authority over Churchmen, this is so far from true, that the whole Clergy, even his admired *Fisher* not excepted, did in the Title of the Submission, to which they all set their Hands, call the King in so many formal Words, supream Head of the Church and Clergy of *England*, in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ: and this was done during *More's* Ministry, who continued Chancellour 15 Months after this.

P. 283. "43. He says, that upon "*More's* laying down his Office, "the King gave the Seals to ano- "ther Churchman, that was no "less devoted to him than *Cran-* "*mer*, whose name was *An-* "*dley*, on whom he bestows a "cha-

" character, tho' he knows no-
" thing concerning him.

Andley was no Churchman, but a common Lawyer as *More* was, that had been Chancellour before him, and the Gentlemen of that Robe being raiſed upon merit, and not by their Birth, his low Extraction was no extraordinary matter.

" 44. He ſays, the King find- Ibid.
" ing that the Pope was afraid,
" that he ſhould contract a ſecret
" Mariage with *Anne Boleyn*, re-
" ſolved to do it, on deſign to do
" the Pope a Spite; ſo the Day
" being ſet, one *Rolland* a Prieſt,
" being appointed to do the Of-
" fice, demanded the Pope's Bull
" for the mariage, which he was
" made believe that the King
" had procured; but the King

"swore to him, that he had it in "his Closet, and that nothing "made him not go immediately "to fetch it, but his unwilling-"ness to retard that Action.

This is so ill told, that Mr. *Varillas* ought to have imployed a little of his Religious Zeal, to make it more plausible; for it was then so well understood, that the Pope was entirely united to the Emperour, that *Rolland Lee* could not imagine there was any Bull granted; and he was all his Life of too complying a Temper, to need such Artifices to oblige him to do any thing that might serve to advance him. Mr. *Varillas* represents the King here too much like a private Gentleman, that keeps his Papers in his own Closet,

and

and that muſt go fetch them upon occaſion, which was ſo far from K. *Henry*'s Temper, that our Poet neglected the *Coſtume* too much, in preſenting him in ſuch a manner. Only it was thought fit to make the King begin his Mariage with a falſe Oath. And tho' not only Truth but Decency was ſacrificed to that, this was too ſmall a matter to create any Trouble to ſuch a man as Mr. *Varillas*: and his making the King to marry *Anne Boleyn*, only to do a Spite to the Pope, is of a Piece with the reſt. But this being the Concluſion of an Amour of a ſeven years continuance, a Poet ſhould have given it a more amorous turn.

"45. But to let us ſee, that his "Character of Poet has not quite p. 284.

"abandoned him, he brings in "Armour in Jealousy, and tells "us, that the Jealousy of the two "Sisters was the true cause of it; "for the Elder envying the For- "tune of the Younger, began to "publish the Privacies that had "been between the King and "her, upon which the Youn- "ger, to take her turn of Re- "venge, was contented to be "married to the King secretly, "upon his promising to publish "it within two Months.

But the Fictions as well as the Verses of old men, when they enter upon amorous Matters, taste of their Age: for it is a pleasant thing to see our Poet fancy, that it was Revenge that determined a young Gentlewoman to be content to be a Queen, one would

would think that other conſiderations without this, were ſtrong enough to make a Crown appear a lovely thing to her. As for her eldeſt Siſter *Mary*'s indiſcretion, and Jealouſy, our Author has the honour to be the Inventor of it: for I do not find it in any other Writer, and therefore I do him all the Juſtice he can deſire, in confeſſing this to be the product of his own Fancy. But his imagining, that the King would not loſe this favourable Moment, leaſt the attractives of a Crown ſhould have been leſs operative, if Spite did not concur to quicken them, is a thought too little worthy of a man, that pretends to have obſerved humane Nature ſo exactly.

"46. He ſays, upon this *Cran-* Ibid.

"*mer* with ſome Judges, that "were corrupted, were ſent to "*Dunſtable*, to put an end to the "Proceſs of the Divorce, and "tho' the Queen refuſed to ac- "knowledg them, yet they diſ- "ſolved the Mariage.

There was no occaſion to corrupt Judges in this Matter, nor were there any Judges imploied in it: a great many Biſhops went along with *Cranmer*, and concurred in the Judgment with him, tho' the Sentence was paſt in his Name. It was made appear, that it had been the conſtant Doctrine of the Church, that the Prohibitions of the Degrees of Mariage in the Law of *Moſes*, were moral Precepts, which did oblige Chriſtians. This was proved by the Decrees of

of ſeveral Popes, the Canons of many Synodes and Councils, and by the concurring Teſtimonies of almoſt all the Greek and Latin Fathers, both Ancient and Modern, and by the agreeing Doctrines both of Schoolmen, Canoniſts and Caſuiſts; and if Tradition was the true Expounder of Scripture, and the ſure Conveyance of Doctrine, the Mariage was certainly inceſtuous; ſo that according to the fundamental Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Mariage was unlawful: and by the ſame Authorities it was alſo proved, that the Pope's Diſpenſation could not make void the Law of God, and that the Clergy of *England* were the proper Judges of what fell out in *England*. This being

being the State of that Matter, and almoſt all the Univerſities of *Europe*, that of *Bologna* it ſelf not excepted, tho' it was the Pope's own Town, having declared in the King's Favours, it was no wonder, if *Cranmer*, upon ſuch Grounds, proceed to give Sentence.

p. 286. "47. He dreſſes up a Speech "for Card. *Bellay*, all out of his "own Fancy; but one thing is "remarkable: he makes the Car- "dinal repreſent to the King, "that if he went to ſeparate him- "ſelf from the Communion of "the Church of *Rome*, either he "would ſucceed in it, or not; if "he ſucceeded in it, beſides that "he put himſelf in a ſtate of "Damnation, there would be "no place found that would be "ſafe

"ſafe for his ſacred Perſon; a-
"gainſt the attempts of zealous
"Catholicks, who would endea-
"vour to kill him, that they
"might preſerve their ancient
"Religion; and if he ſucceded
"not, he might be aſſured, that he
"would loſe both his Crown and
"his Life in a general Revolt.

Mr. *Varillas* is now in a Fit of Religion of another ſort, for as there are hot and cold Fits of Agues, ſo if ſome of his Fits make him forget the Obligations of ſpeaking truth, this makes him ſpeak out a Truth indeed, but of that nature, that if he had been long practiſed in the Secrets of the Court of *Rome*, or of the Jeſuite Order, he would have known, that tho' during the Minority of a King, a Cardinal Per-

ron

ron might speak it boldly, or during the confusions of a Civil War, the whole *Sorbonne* might declare in Favours of it, yet under such a Reign, and in the present Conjuncture, it was to be denyed boldly. And one would not have thought, that at this time a *Clement* or a *Ravilliac* would have had no worse character, but that of zealous Catholicks. So we have now an entire notion of a zealous Catholick from *Mr. Varillas*: he does not trouble himself to examine what he says, whether it is true or false, nor will he stick at any Crime, if it may tend to preserve his Religion. And if a Prince goes about to change his Religion, and to depart from the Communion of the See of *Rome*, he must at first look

look for a general Revolt, which muſt end in his Deprivation and Death, and if that fails, there is a reſerve of zealous Catholicks, who will purſue him into every corner, and never give over, till they have Sacrificed him to the Intereſt of their Religion. This is the ſevereſt thing that the greateſt Enemy to their Church could poſſibly object to it; and yet Mr. *Varillas* has ſo little judgment, as to put it in the Mouth of a Cardinal. But it is but lately that he has got his Penſion, and he has not paſt a long Noviciat, or perhaps he is now too old to learn the reſayings, that his Pattern Mr. *Maimbourg* would have taught him, who in ſuch a Reign as this is in *France*, muſt dreſs up their Religion as a Doctrine, all

made up of Obedience and Submiſſion. But perhaps ſome had told Mr. *Varillas*, that the late Articles of the Clergy lookt like the beginning of a Separation from the Court of *Rome*, ſo that he thought, it was fit to let the King know his Danger, if he went a ſtep further, either in that Matter, or in a Reformation of Religion, of which there has been ſo much noiſe made lately in *France*, tho' it is viſible that this has been ſet on foot, meerly to deceive thoſe, that had a mind to coſen themſelves by the hopes of ſome Amendments, to make Shipwrack of their Faith and of a good Conſcience.

p. 287. „48. He makes the Hopes „ that the Cardinal *Bellay* had of „ ſucceeding in his Negotiation, „ to

„ to be chiefly founded on the „ King's being weary of *Anne* „ *Boleyn*, and his becoming in „ love with *Jane Seimour*; and „ that therefore he concluded „ that time, and a little Patience „ might infallibly diſpoſe him to „ return back again to Queen *Ka-* „ *therine.*

He makes here ſtrange Diſcoveries in the matters of Love, ſince he fancies, that the King's falling in love with a new Miſtreſs, might diſpoſe him to return to his old and abandoned Queen. The thing is alſo ſo falſely timed, that it was two years and almoſt a half after this, before there appeared any beginnings, either of the King's Diſlike of *Anne Boleyn*, or of his Love to *Jane Seimour*. But the

true account of this last Negotiation of the Cardinal *de Bellay* is that at *Marseilles*: The Pope had promised to *Francis* the first, that if K. *Henry* would submit the matter to him, and send a Proxy to *Rome*, he would judg in his favours against the Queen, because he knew that his cause was just and good; and the Cardinal was sent over to induce the King to make his Submission; but the King would not upon verbal Promises make so great a step, yet he promised that, if Assurances were sent him, that were formal and binding, he would upon that send a Submission in full form to *Rome*, and when the Cardinal procured these from the Court of *Rome*, the King did send over the Submission. So that Mr. *Va-*

Varillas having ſuppreſt the true Account of this Negotiation, he thought he muſt make it up with ſomewhat of his own Invention: and as all Liquors drawn out of a muſty Barrel taſt of the Cask; ſo there are ſo many Characters that belong to Mr. *Varillas's* imagination, that it is hard for him to venture on inventing, without diſcovering, that he has full as little Judgment as he has Sincerity.

"49. He lays the blame of the "ſlowneſs of the Courier, on the "Care that the Emperor's Mi- "niſters had taken, to ſtop the "Paſſages. Ibid.

But this was a ridiculous obſervation: for there being a day ſet for the Courier's Return, he hapned only to come two Days

after his time, and it being in the Winter, in which the Sea was to be twice paſt, there is no need to run to any other ſpeculation for a ſlowneſs of two Days in ſuch a Voyage, and at ſuch a Seaſon; but it is often obſerved of thoſe, that have contracted ill habits, as lying in particular, that their naughty *cuſtomes* return upon them, even when there is no provocation lying on them, to tempt them to them; ſo Mr. *Varillas* has given himſelf ſuch a liberty, to interweave his own Fancies with all the Tranſactions that he relates, that he cannot let the ſlighteſt thing paſs without bringing in a ſtroak of his Politicks to adorn it.

P. 288. „ 50. He ſays, the Pope having „ paſt Sentence againſt the King, „ the King did upon that hold a Par-

„ Parliament on the 24 of *April*,
„ 1534, in which he made him-
„ ſelf to be acknowledged ſu-
„ pream Head of the Churches
„ of *England* and *Ireland*; and got
„ his former Mariage to be con-
„ demned, and his ſecond to be
„ confirmed; upon which Q. *Ka-*
„ *therine* died of Grief.

In ſuch publick things Mr. *Varillas* ſhould be wiſer than to venture on the giving of Dates, for it is at leaſt two to one that he gives them wrong. The Parliament, that paſt all theſe Laws, ſate down on the 15th of *January*, and was prorogued on the 29th of *March*, and Sentence was given againſt the King at *Rome* the 23 of *March*: for the truth is, the King did not expect ſincere dealing from the Court of *Rome*, and

therefore he looking on this last Proposition as a Delusion, to divert him from passing the Acts, that he had projected for this Session, resolved to go on with his Design, knowing that if the Pope would grant him that which he desired, it would not be uneasy for him to get those acts repealed. Q. *Katherine* lived two years after this; so that, tho' the Melancholy, which this gave her, did very likely shorten her Days, yet it was too Poetical, to make her just to dye at the end of that Parliament.

P. 289. "51. He says, that the King "upon the first Informations of "*Anne Boleyn's* Disorders, would "not believe them; but at last he "found such Proofs, as fully con- "vinced him, upon which he "waited,

"waited, till he found a fit op-
"portunity, to let his Jealouſy
"break out.

It agrees ill with what he had ſaid before, that K. *Henry* was become weary of *Anne Boleyn*, to make him now ſo uneaſy to believe ill of her; for nothing diſpoſes ſo much to Jealouſy, as a Diſlike already conceived, which naturally inclines one to think ill of a Perſon whom he does not love; but it is certain K. *Henry* never pretended, that he ſaw any thing, that was diſhonourable in her: and the ridiculous Tale of the Tilling at *Greenwich* was a ly too ill contrived, to be again taken up; for the Queen's dropping a Handkerchief, was a favour of too publick a nature, and is not at all credible, conſidering that ſhe found

found the King's affections were straying from her. And even that was too slight a matter, to have wrought her ruine, tho' it had been true.

P. 250. "52. He says, her own Father "was one of her Judges, but tho' "she made a cunning Defence, "yet she was condemned toge- "ther with four of her Adulte- "rers, and after that she went to "meet Death, with more of "fierceness, than of a true great- "ness of Soul, and she died as ex- "actly in all the Maximes of the "Stoical Philosophy, as if she had "studied them.

This assertion of her Father's being one of her Judges, has past so current, that I have no reason to charge *Mr. Varillas* for it, because I my self yeelded to the current

rent of Writers; yet having procured a ſight of the Original Record of her Proceſs, I found it was a falſehood, and in the end of my firſt Volume I had corrected the Errour in which I had fallen: ſo I muſt at leaſt conclude, that *Mr. Varillas* never read any Hiſtory. The Queen had a ſtrange Plea, for there was not one Witneſs brought againſt her, ſo that ſhe was condemned meerly upon Teſtimonies that were brought in writing, which is expreſly contrary to our Law. As for her Behaviour at her Death, it was far from being Stoical, for it was rather too cheerful; and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who knew her Behaviour better than any Perſon whatſoever, gives a very different repreſentation of it, for

in his Letter to Court he tells of her great Devotion, of her cheerfulneſs and of the proteſtations that ſhe made of her Innocence the Morning before ſhe died, when ſhe received the Sacrament, adding, that her Almoner was ſtill with her, and had been with her ever ſince two a clock after Midnight. And he alſo ſays, that ſhe had much Joy and Pleaſure in her Death. And as all this is very far from the Maximes of the Stoical Philoſophy, ſo it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* underſtands very little what they were, otherwiſe, if he had remembred what a picture he had made of *Anne Boleyn*, he muſt have known, that the amourous diſpoſition that he had faſtned on her, agreed very ill with a Stoical Unconcerned-

neſs

neſs and equality of Temper. But this he thought was a pretty concluſion of one of the Scenes of his Piece.

And now being as weary of this ungrateful Imployment, as any Reader, or as even Mr. *Varillas* himſelf muſt needs be, I find my ſelf at great eaſe, being no more obliged to turn over ſo very ill a Book. And ſince in the Survey of one of the ſhorteſt of the ten Books, of which that Work conſiſts, I have found ſo many capital Errours, in moſt of which there is a complication of divers Miſtakes in the ſame Period; to how much publick ſhame muſt Mr. *Varillas* be expoſed, if thoſe, who are concerned, examine the other Books, as I have done this. I expect no other Juſtice from

himſelf, but that he will reckon all this ſcorn, that ſuch a Diſcovery muſt bring upon him, as a meritorious Suffering at the hands of Hereticks, and that he will uſe it as an Argument to raiſe his Penſion. But it will be a great happineſs if others can learn, tho' at his coſt, to write with more Truth and greater Caution.

The deſign of all revealed Religion is, to heighten in us thoſe Seeds of Probity, Vertue and Gentleneſs, that are in our Nature, and I will not ſtick to ſay, that it were better for Mankind, that there were no revealed Religion at all in being, and that humane Nature ſhould be left to it ſelf, than that there were ſuch a ſort of a revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles

ciples of Morality, and that inſtead of making men ſincere, teaches them to be falſe, and inſtead of inſpiring them with Love and Mercy, inflames them with Rage and Cruelty, and it is likely, that *M. Varillas* will eaſily find out, what that Society is, of which I mean. For he deſerves well to be at leaſt one of the Lay-brothers of the Order, if not to fill up Mr. *Maimbourg*'s room, and then the Order will not loſe by the change much of a quality, that has been believed to be almoſt an eſſential ingredient in its Conſtitution, which gave occaſion to a very pleaſant Paſſage, that, as I was told, fell out at *Amiens* within theſe 20 years.

All the Companies of Tradeſmen in the Church of *Rome*

choose a Saint for their Patron, and the many new invented Trades have put some Bishops to hard shifts to give proper Saints, which has produced some very ridiculous Patronages, for the Cooks have the Assumption for their Feast, because the two first Sillables *assum* signifies roasted; and when the Needle-makers at *Paris* a ked of the Cardinal *Gondy* a Patron, he could not easily find out a Saint that had any relation to their Trade, but he advised them to take All-Saints, for it could not be thought, but that some one or other of the Saints had made Needles; but the Bishop of *Amiens* gave *Ignatius Loyola* to be the Patron of the Packers, now the Word *emballeur*, as it signifies a Packer, it passes

also

alſo for a Trapan; ſo the Packers being ſatisfied with the Biſhop's nomination, had *Ignatius* upon his Day in a Proceſſion, upon which the Jeſuites were offended, to ſee their Patron pretended to by ſuch a Company of Mechanicks, and ſued the Packers upon it, they defended themſelves upon the account of their Biſhop's naming him to them, and when the Biſhop was asked why he had given him for their Patron, he alluding to the other ſignification of the Word *emballeur* ſaid, that he had obſerved that all the *emballeurs* of *Europe* were under that Saint's Patronage. But it is not neceſſary to infer from hence, that Mr. *Varillas* has a juſt claim to his protection, for tho' he ſeems to have very good inclinations, yet he

wants the addreſs that is neceſſary to recommend him to ſo refined a Society, and to a perfection in it, that coſt Fr. *Maimbourg* a whole Jubily for a Novitiat; for tho' ſeven years is enough to learn an ordinary Trade, yet 50 is neceſſary to furniſh a man with a ſufficient ſtock of Impudence for ſo hardy an Imployment.

A D-

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Have at laſt found Card. *Cajetan*'s Works, and am now confirmed in that, which was only a conjecture, when I writ upon the 31ſt Article, pag. 141. for it is hard even to gueſs wrong, when it is in contradiction to Mr. *Varillas*: and as the Reaſons that he put in *Cajetan*'s Mouth, had ſuch manifeſt Characters of his own ignorance and hardineſs, that I could not ſo much as doubt of the Impoſture, yet I was not poſitive, till I had taken ſome pains to find out *Cajetan*'s Works, and there I ſaw my conjectures were well grounded. That Volume in which he delivers his opinion in the matter of the obli- 2da 2dæ quæſt. 154 Art. 9.

gation of the Levitical Law concerning the degrees of Mariage, was writ long before this Dispute of K. *Henry*'s was started; for it is dedicated to Pope *Leo* the tenth. And instead of all those Impertinencies, with which Mr. *Varillas* calumniates him, and of which none less ignorant than himself, is capable, all that *Cajetan* says is that, whereas *Thomas Aquinas* was of opinion, that those degrees were moral, and of eternal obligation, he in his Commentary declares himself of another Mind, but takes a very backward Method to prove it, yet such as was suitable enough to the blindness of the time in which he writ; for he proves that they are not Moral, only because the Pope dis-

diſpenced with them, who could not diſpence with the Moral Law, and he gives for inſtance the Mariage of the King of *Portugal*, to which he adds theſe words, *The preſent Queen of* England *had likewiſe conſummated her former Mariage with the late Brother of the king of* England *her Husband.* So that *Cajetan* was only driven to this opinion, that he might juſtify the Practiſes of the Court of *Rome.* And it appears by what he ſays concerning it, that it was conſidered at *Rome* as an undoubted Truth, that the Queen's firſt Mariage with Prince *Arthur* was conſummated: and ſo it is ſufficiently apparent, how impudent Mr. *Varillas* is in the abſtract, that he charges on Cardinal *Cajetan's*

Moderna quoque Regina Angliæ conſummaverat prius matrimonium cum olim fratre iſtius Regis Angliæ ſui mariti.

Me-

Memory, it was far from his way of reaſoning, to talk of Fleets blocking up *Conſtantinople*; but Mr. *Varillas*, who knows little of the paſt Time, and fancies that matters went formerly as they go now, had perhaps the low Eſtate in which the Otthoman Empire is at preſent, or the Bombarding of *Genoa* in his Eye, when he thought of the ſending Fleets againſt *Conſtantinople* above 180 Year ago, but this ſpeculation was as much out of *Cajetan*'s way, as it is ſutable to Mr. *Varillas*.

Page 250 he ſays, King *Henry* the eighth had oppoſed the Mariage of his Siſter to the King of *Scotland* with ſo much violence, that it brought on him ſeveral Fits of an Ague. But that Mariage being made in *Auguſt* 1502,

1502, the young Prince was not then 11 years old, and this is too early even for a Poet to make matters of State to have gone so deep into his thoughts, as that they endangered his Health. But as the Legends of Saints represent them in Extasies, before they have past their Childhood, so Mr. *Varillas* thought it sutable to the rest of his Poem, to represent K. *Henry* even in his Infancy as transported with the violence of impetuous passions. But I am afraid I lay too much to his charge, since I do not believe that he had examined the History of his Life so Critically, as to know even his Age; but it is a sad thing for an ignorant Man, not to have a Chronological Table always before him.

FINIS.

The Distance of the Author from the Press has occasioned the following ERRATA.

Pag. 14. l. 6. rhe in, read, in the. p. 17. l. 10. Pillour. r. Pillow, l. 19. ever, r. over. p. 21. l. 5. now, r. new. p. 23. l. 8. Morny's, r. Moray's. p. 27. l. 11. dole 5th. p. 32. l. 14. Solobern, r. Soloturn. p. 50. last. wonder, r. wander. p. 67. marg. consummavi. r. consummavissetis. p. 87. l. 8. after oblige, r. him. p. 92. l. 9. after hard, r. to say. p. 93. l. 12. Names, r. Meanness. p. 98. l. 8. so, r. too. p. 100. l. 17. they, r. that. p. 111. l. 16. 1529, r. 1524. p. 119. l. 4. as, r. on. p. 125. l. 9. and often, Tarke, r. Tarbe. p. 161. l. 1. Castalis, Cassali's. p. 170. l. 22. Audley, r. Audley. p. 181. l. 18. refayings, r. refinings. p. 191. l. 8. any, r. my. l. 9. strange, r. strong.

Some small litteral Errours and Mistakes in the Punctuation, will be easily corrected by the Reader.